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A. LASHIN

Socialism and the State

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Socialism and the State



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СОЦИАЛИЗМ
И ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВО
на английском языке

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INTRODUCTION

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution over half a century ago the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has accumulated vast experience in directing the building of a new society. This experience was gained in the process of building and strengthening socialism; it is being constantly enriched on an ever widening scale in the conditions of developed socialism, in the stage of the Soviet Union's transition to communism.

The CPSU, a Party of the Leninist type, adhering to the principles of scientific communism, took the lead in the revolutionary movement of Russia's proletariat for a new social system, ensured the construction in the Soviet Union of the world's first developed socialist society. It is guiding the most intricate social processes preparatory to the transition of the Soviet state to the higher phase of the communist socio-economic formation.

Describing the main results achieved by the Soviet people after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, said in the Report to the 25th Party Congress: "We have created a new society, a society the like of which mankind has never known before. It is a society with a crisis-free, steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations and genuine freedom. It is a society governed by the scientific materialist world outlook. It is a society of firm confidence in the future, of radiant communist prospects. Before it lie boundless horizons of further all-round progress."¹

In the current stage of the world revolutionary process, the experience of the CPSU tested in practice by other socialist countries, summed up and illumined by Marxist-Leninist theory has become a particularly effective and indispensable factor of all social progress.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, 25th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 103.

The record of the CPSU as the architect of the socialist state is part and parcel of its experience in the direction of all economic, social and ideological processes of building socialism and communism. Born as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state was used by Russia's working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party—for the purpose of radical socio-economic and cultural transformations, for remaking the life of society on socialist principles. As the historical experience of the USSR and other socialist countries demonstrates, without the working class winning political power in the socialist revolution, without establishing and strengthening the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve the economic and cultural problems facing the working class, the toiling masses in the cause of building socialism. The Soviet all-people's state is continuing the cause of proletarian dictatorship, is a powerful tool in the hands of the Party, the working class, all working people of the Soviet Union in their struggle to build the higher phase of communist society.

The world-wide historic significance of the experience of the CPSU in the establishment, development and consolidation of the Soviet state consists primarily in that it has stood the test of time, fully proved its effectiveness in the course of the struggle for the victory and consolidation of socialism, absorbed the experience of the multimillioned masses of working people, and served as a source of the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory. This experience is being emulated creatively by the Communist and Workers' parties of many socialist countries.

When embarking on the construction of the world's first socialist state, the CPSU was equipped with a scientific programme of revolutionary action: it leaned on the theory of socialist revolution and the building of socialism evolved by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, which provided the clue to a scientific solution of the fundamental problems of statehood and democracy.

However, for the theory of scientific communism, the

Marxist-Leninist precepts on the socialist state to be translated into life the Party and the working class required full political maturity, organisation, proletarian discipline, great exertion of their creative powers.

The fulfilment of this task involved incessant quests of new forms and methods of state organisation, their testing and amendment in practice, vigorous measures to overcome the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes supported by international imperialist reaction, a determined struggle against the Right-wing and "Left" opportunists who expressed bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The CPSU has proved capable of developing the concrete forms and methods of state construction, the principles of guidance of the socialist state, which are of historic importance. Lenin said: "When a country has taken the path of profound change, it is to the credit of that country and the Party of the working class which achieved victory in that country, that they should take up in a practical manner the tasks that were formerly raised abstractly, theoretically. This experience will never be forgotten. The experience . . . cannot be taken away, no matter how difficult the vicissitudes the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution may pass through. It has gone down in history as socialism's gain, and on it the future world revolution will erect its socialist edifice."¹

What Lenin has said about the wealth of experience in building a new society is directly related to such of its major components as the proletarian state.

When setting up and strengthening the Soviet state—the chief instrument for building socialism—the CPSU proceeded from the unity of its national and internationalist tasks, regarded its activities as the implementation of the general tasks in the world revolutionary process involved in the fulfilment of the historic mission of the international work-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First Congress of Economic Councils", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 413.

ing class. At the same time, the Party itself used innovatively the experience gained by the international proletarian movement in the earlier stages of its development. This is strikingly illustrated by the attitude of Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party and the international communist movement, to the experience of the Paris Commune. He considered the Paris Commune a "...superb example of the great proletarian movement of the nineteenth century",¹ which taught the "...European proletariat to pose concretely the tasks of the socialist revolution".² Referring to the experience of the Paris Commune, its analysis by Marx and Engels, Lenin repeatedly emphasised the continuity between the Paris Commune and the Soviet Republic proclaimed in Russia; he described the Paris Commune as the prototype of Soviet power.

The attitude of Lenin and the Communist Party to the experience of the Paris Commune was the most complete and salient expression of one of the key traits of the new, Leninist type of Party based on the principles of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism. Solicitous attention to the revolutionary experience of the proletariat in other countries, to the revolutionary traditions of the international working-class movement, the creative application of this experience and its further development in one's own theoretical and practical activities are one of the most important manifestations of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin regarded Soviet power as the embodiment of the experience in the struggle of the international working class for the establishment of its political power, for winning proletarian democracy. The Soviet Republic imbibed the finest of what had been created by the Paris Commune. It was also enriched with everything that had been created by the revolutionary innovation of Russia's proletariat in the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Lessons of the Commune", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 476.

² *Ibid.*, p. 477.

new historical situation, in the three Russian revolutions, particularly in the period of preparing and implementing the October Revolution, and the socialist transformations in the USSR.

In the decades that followed, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, loyal to its Leninist general line in all the fields of its activity, in developing the machinery of state in particular, multiplied its experience in guiding the socialist state, the entire political organisation of society. Of special importance here is its experience in perfecting incessantly the state apparatus, in strengthening its ties with the masses, in developing the forms of Soviet nationhood, in overcoming difficulties and contradictions. The Party displays concern for bringing the entire political superstructure into line with the economic and social system of victorious socialism, seeks to strengthen and enhance the role of the Soviet state in implementing the tasks of communist construction. It was underscored at the 25th CPSU Congress that in carrying on this work, "the Party and the Central Committee have always started from the premise that a developed socialist society has been built in our country and is gradually growing into a communist society, from the premise that our state is a state of the whole people, expressing the interests and the will of the whole people. We have always started from the premise that we now have a fully shaped new historical community, the Soviet people, which is based on the solid alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the working class playing the leading role, and on the friendship of all the big and small nations of our country. We have sought to promote the all-round development of the activity of state agencies and social organisations, stimulating their initiative in every possible way."¹

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, pp. 96-97.

The experience of the CPSU as the architect of the socialist state is of immense importance, above all, from the viewpoint of the present stage and the prospects of the internal development of socialist society. This experience helps to make better use of the advantages of socialism in the conditions of the developing scientific and technological revolution, to raise the efficiency of social production, to create the material and cultural prerequisites for an all-round development of the individual.

The principles, methods, and forms of leadership and management of the social processes, which constitute the basic subject-matter of the science of administration, are worked out in the process of building socialism and communism on the basis of the creative activities of the broad popular masses, by summing up the experience of the CPSU in leading state, economic and cultural development, in the application of the general laws of the new social formation. In evolving and developing the principles, methods and forms of guidance and management of the social processes, which constitute the basic content of the science of administration, the CPSU is drawing on the achievements of the social and natural, technical and applied sciences, opposing, at the same time, a mechanical approach and oversimplification in this vast and complicated field, rejecting, in particular, the tendencies of technicism and technocracy. In so doing, the Party is guided by the instructions of Lenin on approaching the cause of state construction from positions of genuine science, so that science itself would not remain a dead letter or a catchword but would really be made a structural element of state construction.

The creative emulation of this experience of the CPSU by the Communist and Workers' parties of other socialist countries with a view to the specific features of their development complies with the objective requirements of the building of socialism, the consolidation of the world socialist system, the interests and objectives of the entire international working class. This idea was clearly expressed by

Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Underscoring the role of the Communist Party in implementing the ideas of scientific communism, the historic mission of the working class, he wrote: "The glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class and the peoples of the Soviet land were the first to take this path. And today they are marching in the vanguard, translating into life the great programme of construction outlined by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The example of the Soviet Union, the fact that socialism has become a world system and the achievements of all the countries of our socialist community continue to increase its power steadily—all this is the most important support for the international working class in its struggle."¹

The summing up of the experience of the Soviet Union in building the socialist state assumes special importance under the present conditions of development of the world revolutionary process. This experience is being emulated innovatively by the Communist and Workers' parties of other socialist countries, which are in different stages of the construction of socialist society. It is an important means by which the Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist countries mobilise the toiling masses to the struggle for democracy and socialism. It helps the Communist and national-democratic parties of the developing countries to bring the national liberation revolutions to their culmination, to outline the paths of development on non-capitalist principles.

The experience of the CPSU in the establishment and development of the socialist state, of a new type of democracy, is of immense importance in the struggle against modern anti-communism, social-reformism and revisionism of the Right-wing and "Left" varieties.

The ideologists of imperialism, anti-communists are at-

¹ *Die wachsende Rolle der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien im revolutionären Prozess des Aufbaus des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, Berlin, 1970, S. 21.

tacking socialism in two main directions: they attempt to disprove scientific communism, the main theoretical propositions and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism and seek to distort, to falsify the policy of the Communist parties, the very practices of their revolutionising transformative activities in the process of building socialism and communism.

The Right-wing and "Left" revisionists hold, in effect, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views. The exponents of the so-called "democratic socialism", "humane socialism", "socialism with a human face" are united in their joint denial of the general laws of socialist construction. Under the pretence of respect for the national distinctions of each country, the Right-wing revisionists challenge the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, distort its fundamental tenets and conclusions. In the political field, they belittle or totally deny the leading role of the Communist Party in society, in development of the state. They make especially fierce attacks on the theory of socialist state, the experience in the guidance by the CPSU of the socialist state apparatus, its use in the interests of planned management of the economy, the principle of democratic centralism in the structure and activities of the administrative bodies and the public organisations of working people, and the Party itself. Some Right-wing revisionists are not even averse to admitting a certain role of the Communist Party in the ideological field, in cultural, educational and enlightenment work but on the strict condition that the Party shall not interfere in the affairs of state.

Inventing various models of "national" socialism, the revisionists oppose them to the "Soviet model" of socialism, which is allegedly the product of Russia's specific conditions. On this pretext they challenge the international experience in building socialism in general, the international significance of the experience of the CPSU as the architect of the socialist state in particular. The "Left" revisionists proclaim the most extremist, ultra-revolutionary slogans, while in theory and practice they slide down to petty-bourgeois posi-

tions hostile to socialism, and seek to implant the ideas of nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

In view of the crucial importance and complexity of the problems involved in the development of the state, the need to expose the anti-communist and revisionist distortions of the social nature of the socialist state, the place and role of the CPSU in the system of socialist democracy, specialists in various fields of social sciences are engaged in research into these problems.

For the purpose of systematic presentation of the subject-matter, discussion in this book is concentrated not only and even not so much on the general and specific problems of socialist statehood, as, primarily, on the main directions of the theoretical and practical activities of the CPSU in the establishment and consolidation of the Soviet state, on their international significance. The general theoretical problems of the socialist state are discussed to the extent necessary to show the scientifically grounded policy of the Marxist-Leninist party in developing the state.

The main chapters of the book contain special sections devoted to the emulation of the experience of the CPSU by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

The author is aware of the fact that within the space of one book it is impossible to give an exhaustive description of the wealth of the historic experience of the CPSU in developing the socialist state gained in the different stages of building socialism and communism. The author hopes, however, that the discussion in this book of some of the most crucial international aspects of the experience of the CPSU in developing the socialist state will be helpful to the reader interested in the evolution of the new, socialist society.

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND NATIONAL DISTINCTIONS OF STATE CONSTRUCTION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THEIR CORRELATION

1. THE ECONOMIC AND CLASS FOUNDATION OF STATE CONSTRUCTION

The Communist and Workers' parties are guided by Marxist-Leninist theory in all their activities in the struggle for the victory and consolidation of the new social system, in the field of state organisation in particular.

Marxism-Leninism is an integral and consistent world outlook based on a profound scientific interpretation of realities. The integrity and consistency of Marxism-Leninism are due, above all, to the fact that it gives a consistent dialectical materialistic explanation of the essence of the various social phenomena, the very process of cognition of the objective world. Uncovering the features peculiar to social relations, their economic foundation, which predetermines, in the final analysis, the character of all the other social relations and links, Marxist-Leninist theory expounds the ways and means of revolutionary remaking of the world, and is the theoretical and ideological weapon of the working class in its struggle to build a new society.

The profound source of the development of Marxist-Leninist theory itself is the revolutionary practices, the experience in the struggle waged by the working class and its Party, by all working people for a radical transformation of society. For its part, practice, the experience in the class struggle of the proletariat for attaining its scientifically

motivated goals is the criterion of the correctness, viability of the conclusions and principles of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is developed and enriched through the cognition of the objective laws of social development and their application in the revolutionary transformative activities of the working class led by the Marxist-Leninist Party. Thus, the theoretical and practical (revolutionary transformative) activities of the Communist and Workers' parties expressing, as they do, the vital interests of the working class, of all working people, appear in their organic unity, dialectical interrelation, where the determining, leading principle is the revolutionary transformative activities.

The abovesaid is directly related to an understanding of the essence of the general principles of state construction which come into effect along with the victory of the socialist revolution and are applied in all the stages of building communism.

The general principles of state construction reflect, in the final analysis, the main objective laws of the entire process of socialist construction. These laws are revealed by Marxist-Leninist theory as a unity of all its component parts—political economy, philosophy, and scientific communism. On this theoretical foundation are formulated the general principles, the basic ideas of the theory of socialist state, which reflect the specific features of state construction, the process of setting up, consolidating and using the state of the socialist type in the interests of building a new society.¹

¹ It is a question of the fundamental, most important, general principles of the socialist state, which reflect the general laws of socialist construction in their interrelation. This does not rule out the existence of some more specific principles of the socialist state directly connected with its functioning and development (for example, the principle of dual subordination of the representative bodies and the executive and administrative bodies of the socialist state, i.e., subordination of local executive bodies to representative government bodies elected by the working people, and subordination of lower to higher administrative bodies). However, these principles are subsidiary, in the final analysis, to the most general principles of the socialist state, contribut-

The close link between the general laws of socialist construction and the principles of the socialist state is not tantamount, of course, to their identity. The fundamental laws of socialist construction are general precisely because they operate in all the key spheres of social life—in the economic, socio-political, and ideological fields, in the fields of welfare, cultural and national development. The principles of state building apply in the main to the sphere of political relations, the construction and functioning of the socialist state. The importance of these principles, however, is determined by the fact that with the aid of the socialist state the working class, the working masses led by the Communist Party purposively regulate all economic and cultural development, socialist social relations.

The socialist state, in compliance with the laws of socialist construction, contributes in every way to speeding up the steady advance of society towards communism. This vigorous, creative, constructive activity of the state is all the more successful and fruitful, the more completely and comprehensively the general laws of socialist construction are expressed specifically in the principles of the organisation and activity of the state itself. In other words, the laws of socialist construction in relation to the socialist state are not only the objective conditions predetermining the character and direction of its activity. They are specifically expressed in the development and functioning of the state through the principles of state construction consciously formulated and applied by the Party.

Such general laws of socialist construction as leadership of the working masses by the working class rallied round the Marxist-Leninist Party, the alliance of the working class with the main mass of the peasantry and other strata of the working people are reflected in one of the fundamental principles of construction and activity of the socialist state—the

ing to the enhancement of its active role in applying the laws of socialist construction as a whole.

participation of the broad popular masses led by the working class in the administration of state.

The principle of democratic centralism as the key guiding principle of the entire system of institutions of the socialist state expresses, in the final analysis, the objective laws of the emergence and development of production based on public ownership, the necessity and possibility of planned development of the national economy in the interests of all working people.

Referring to the democratic principle of organisation in the initial variant of his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", Lenin wrote "...that every representative of the masses, every citizen, must be put in such conditions that he can participate in the discussion of state laws, in the choice of his representatives and in implementation of state laws. But it does not at all follow from this that we shall permit the slightest chaos or disorder as regards who is responsible in each individual case for definite executive functions, for carrying out definite orders, for controlling in definite joint labour process during a certain period of time."¹ Lenin urged an all-round development of the collective principles in administration combined with the personal responsibility of executives and government bodies for the fulfilment of measures planned and decisions taken. He had in mind the need to combine organically the democratic and centralist principles in administration in view of the requirements of the development of social production and the democratic nature of new political government.

A uniform system of the national economy developing on the basis of the socialist type of ownership demands planned management and control from a common centre on a nationwide scale. The democratic nature of the socialist state, the principles of its organisation and activity guarantee the participation of the working masses in the management of the affairs of state and society. This throws into salient relief

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 212.

the dependence of the principles of state organisation on the new, socialist forms of the economy and management, on the laws operating in the economic sphere of social life. The principle of democratic centralism makes it possible to combine the democratic and centralist principles in organic unity in all practical activities of the socialist state.

Lenin regarded control, registration and verification of the execution of function as indispensable conditions for this activity. When Soviet Russia had changed over to civilian work of economic rehabilitation Lenin stated: "*To test men and verify what has actually been done*—this, this again, this alone, is now the main feature of all our activities, of our whole policy."¹ He paid keen attention to verifying fulfilment in the activities of all the elements of the state apparatus and suggested ways of organising systematic control: "It is better to verify only a *part* of . . . decisions . . . but they should be verified with pedantic accuracy."²

Lenin demanded that during a check-up attention should be focussed on the practical results rather than on the purely formal aspect of the matter, thereby habituating every government official to strict observance of state discipline, high responsibility for the performance of his duties to the broad masses of working people. Referring to the need to enhance the responsibility of leading executives, to reinforce the principle of one-man management in every way, he emphasised repeatedly the importance of public activities, the need for the broadest possible involvement of the working people and their public organisations in the administration of state, the management of all public affairs.

The same objectives—the organisation and direction of new economic relations and other social relations associated with them—are served by the requirement for the most stringent observance of the laws of the socialist state by all

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International and Domestic Situation of the Soviet Republic", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 226.

² V. I. Lenin, "Letter to V. A. Smolyaninov, May 15, 1922", *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 548.

individuals, institutions, government bodies, public organizations, and officials. The principle of socialist legality is also closely associated with the laws of socialist construction. The laws of the socialist state and the statutory acts based on them express, in the final analysis, the vital economic interests of the working class, the working masses. Enforcement of the laws and standards of socialist legality through the agency of the state is one of the major functions of the working class as the leading force in the building of socialism.

The abolition of national oppression and the establishment of relations of equality and friendship among peoples is a general law of socialist construction. Closely bound up with this law is the principle of proletarian internationalism, which is expressed and applied in the practices of state development, the construction and activities of the state apparatus, the evolution of nationhood.

These and other principles of the socialist state, just as the laws of socialist construction underlying them, have their common source in the economic and social class structure of society.

The victory of the socialist revolution means, above all, a fundamental change in the position of the classes with preservation in the initial period of the former social and class structure of society. The working class which has won political power becomes the ruling class acting in alliance with the toiling peasantry, the semi-proletarian masses. The exploiting classes, the bourgeoisie in town and country are dislodged from their positions of political domination and in the course of further socialist transformations quit the political and economic scene for good. In the process of socialist construction the multistructural pattern of the economy is done away with, socialist ownership and socialist economic relations gradually assume absolute domination in the economic system of society. The sweeping revolutionary changes in the economic structure of society, the emergence and development of socialist ownership and the socialist eco-

conomic system based on it, socialist industrialisation and co-operation in agriculture, the revolution in culture are the major conditions for the political and cultural advancement of the toiling classes themselves—the working class and the peasantry, the formation and education of a new, people's intelligentsia. Thus, radical qualitative changes occur in the very social and class structure of society.

The whole process of socialist transformations in the economic, socio-political and cultural spheres of the life of society is carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the vanguard role of the working class, and the active participation of all working people.

The employment of the socialist state in the interests of building socialism is all the more fruitful, the more the working class and its leader, the Communist Party, rely on the general laws of socialist construction, take account of the actual alignment of the class forces, the level of society's economic and cultural development. The successful advance of society along the path to socialism, the socialist transformations in the economic and other spheres of social life give, in turn, steadily growing space for the operation of the general laws governing the evolution of the communist system, predetermine the further development and enrichment of the principles of state development and hence contribute to the enhancement of the active, constructive role of the state.

Lenin's remarkable comment on democracy in general throws ample light on the democratic principles of the socialist state, their link with and dependence on the development of the socio-economic structure of society, the influence of the state on this process. While insisting vigorously on the need for the working class to struggle for democracy so as to "...develop democracy *to the utmost*, to find the *forms* for this development, to test them *by practice* and so forth..."¹, Lenin wrote at the same time: "Taken separate-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 452.

ly, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate *its* transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history."¹

The practices of socialist construction have furnished evidence to the effect that socialist democracy as a whole, in particular the democratic principles of state construction, exert through the activities of the state a strong influence on the economic and socio-political development of society.

Thus, the significance and role of the democratic principles of the socialist state cannot be reduced exclusively to the field of state construction as such. The Communist Party formulates these principles, strives for their application in building the state with a view to stimulating its activity and revolutionary transformative role, enhancing its influence on the various aspects of social life.

Thus, in its theoretical and political organisational work the Communist Party has invariably attached, as it does today, tremendous importance to gaining experience in state construction, to summing it up for constructive conclusions, to working out and further developing the principles of the socialist state. These principles directly determine the character of the organisation and activity of the entire system of government institutions, and, on a wider plane, the entire political organisation of society. The application of the general principles of state construction exerts an influence through the medium of the state on all the major aspects of social life. These principles develop under the impact of changes in the economic, social and class structure of society and retain their importance in all the stages of development of the socialist state. The application and innovative use of the general principles in conformity with the historical and national distinctions of each country in the practical activ-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25 pp. 452-53.

ities of the Communist and Workers' parties in directing the process of state construction is an objective requirement of socialist society's development.

Whereas the general laws of socialist construction are objective in character, the general principles of the socialist state are a conscious, scientifically motivated expression of the vital interests of the working class, which purposively reflect and reinforce its leading role in society.

It does not follow from this, of course, that these principles have an exclusively subjective character and are evolved and formulated by the Party without regard to the objective realities. Their source lies in reality itself, in the economic, social and class structure of society. They reflect and express the objective laws governing the entire process of socialist construction and conform, as is corroborated by experience, to the general tendencies in the development of the new, socialist social and state system.

The general principles of the socialist state have a well-defined and clearcut class character. They are class principles as regards their essence, the methods used to evolve them, the conditions of their practical application, reflecting, as they do, the actual alignment of class forces in society, fortifying the leading position of the working class. The class character of the general principles of the socialist state, far from making them subjective or arbitrary, restricted or one-sided, on the contrary ensures their fullest possible correspondence to the objective requirements of social development and the laws of socialist construction.

It is precisely because the general principles of the socialist state have a class character, directly affecting the interests of different classes in society, their implementation in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, takes place amidst a bitter class struggle. The working class and its Party, rallying round them all working people, the toiling peasantry, first and foremost, carrying on the construction of the new, socialist state, wage a relentless struggle against

the dislodged exploiting classes, against the carriers of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, the customs and traditions of the old society, against the survivals of bourgeois statehood. The successful outcome of this struggle and the translation of the Leninist principles of the socialist state into life have an immense bearing on the enhancement of its role in society and, in the final analysis, on the construction and consolidation of socialism.

The theory and practices of building socialism demonstrate that ignoring of the general laws of socialist construction, including the principles of state construction closely associated with them, inevitably leads to grave shortcomings, errors, to a slow-down in the rates of building socialism. In certain cases, departure from the Leninist principles of state construction, substitution for them of subjectivistic, chauvinistic great power ideas entail disorganisation of the state, distortion of the democratic nature of the socialist political system.

The elaboration and development of the general principles of the socialist state, their defence against the Right-wing and "Left" revisionists' attempts to distort and ignore them, the consistent application of these principles in the practices of state construction are major component parts of the theoretical and political organisational activities of the Communist and Workers' parties, their guidance of the construction of socialism and communism.

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2. THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND SPECIFIC FEATURES OF STATE CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

An objective character is possessed not only by the general laws of socialist construction and the principles of the socialist state associated with them but also by the causes responsible for the diverse forms in which these principles

are expressed and creatively applied in different countries.

The scientific substantiation of both the general laws of socialist construction and the diversity of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, the building of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the methods and rates of revolutionary transformations of all the aspects of social life on socialist principles is the key component part of Leninism. Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the era of the downfall of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements, the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, and the building of communist society. The definition of Leninism as Marxism of the new historical epoch has a profound meaning. It lays emphasis, above all, on the close as well as dynamic and inseparable connection between the system of the scientific views of Marx and Engels and Lenin's ideological and theoretical contribution to the treasury of Marxism.

As is known, Lenin himself regarded Marxist theory and its principles not as a dogma but as a guide to action. Already in one of his early works, he wrote: "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."¹ He underscored at the same time that genuine revolutionaries ought to stand wholly on the ground of Marx's theory because it was the "first to transform socialism from a utopia into a science, to lay a firm foundation for this science, and to indicate the path that must be followed in further developing and elaborating it in all its parts".²

Defending Marxism in the struggle against the opportunists and developing it under new historical conditions,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Our Programmc", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 211-12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

Lenin invariably remained loyal to the fundamental ideas and principles of Marxism.

This distinguishes a true revolutionary from reformists and revisionists whatever pseudo-democratic or pseudo-revolutionary phraseology they may use to disguise themselves.

The definition of Leninism as Marxism of the new historical epoch means further that the development of Marxist theory by Lenin is concerned with the specific features and essence of this epoch. As far back as 1915, describing his approach to analysis of social phenomena, Lenin wrote: "...the historic events that are unfolding before our eyes can be understood only if we analyse, in the first place, the objective conditions of the transition from one epoch to the other."¹ To be able to comprehend an epoch and express its essence, Lenin said it was necessary to know "...*which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of ... that epoch".² Lenin applied this requirement to the analysis of the present epoch, revealed its main content and trend of development. On this methodological basis he further developed Marxist theory as a whole, the Marxist teaching on the party of a new type, on socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the principles of organisation of the proletarian state, the ways and forms of building socialism, the laws governing the entire world revolutionary process.

Therefore, the major propositions and conclusions drawn by Lenin in the new historical situation have universal, international, worldwide rather than narrow national significance.

Developing the Marxist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin approached the interpretation of this

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Under a False Flag", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*

notion not from nationally distinctive but from universal, theoretical, class positions. He singled out its most essential and significant aspects. He worked out the most complicated problems, such as the diversity of ways of the socialist revolution, the state forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, the ways and means of revolutionary transformation of social relations in the process of socialist construction.

The variety of forms of transition to socialism is attributable, in the first place, to the different concrete historical situations in which a socialist revolution is taking place and socialist transformations are being carried out. The revolutionary process of transition to socialism extends over a whole historical epoch. In its different stages the conditions of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie inside the capitalist countries change as does the balance of power between socialism and capitalism on the international scene.

The variety of forms of transition to socialism is also influenced by the fact that as the world revolutionary process deepens and widens and the social base of the socialist revolution broadens, this process increasingly involves countries at different levels of economic development—ranging from state-monopoly capitalism to countries in which feudal and even pre-feudal relations predominate.

Referring to the variety of forms of development of the world revolutionary process, Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life."¹ Both in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, Lenin consistently upheld and developed

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

the idea of the strictest application of the general principles of Marxism to the concrete historical situation in each country, advocating the need to devise concrete forms and methods of translating the general theoretical principles into life.

The same idea underlies the theory of the proletarian state evolved by Lenin. Explaining the international significance of the Soviet Republic as a new state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat established in Russia and emphasising the general character of the democratic principles of Soviet government, he warned at the same time against the dangers involved in imitation of the Soviets in every detail in the practices of state construction in other countries. Addressing the 8th Congress of the Communist Party during the discussion of the draft of the Party Programme, Lenin said, in particular: "The Soviet type is not yet Soviets as they exist in Russia, but the Soviet type is becoming international. And this is all we can say. To go farther, one step farther, one hair's breadth farther, would be wrong, and therefore unsuitable for a programme."¹ The same idea was underscored by Lenin in his comments on the draft of the theses "The Fundamentals of the Third International". The draft contained the assertion to the effect that "the natural organs of the massive revolutionary struggle transforming after the victory of the uprising into organs of *power* are the Soviets of Workers' Deputies". After these words Lenin made the following note: "Of the type of the Commune or the Soviets (not necessarily 'the Soviets')".²

Lenin emphasised that the concrete and varied forms of proletarian statehood would be developed depending on the concrete situation in each country, on the stage of a given nation's advance on the path from the Middle Ages to bourgeois democracy and from bourgeois democracy to proletar-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 172-73.

² V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 54, p. 502 (in Russian).

ian democracy. He firmly believed in the creative abilities of the Communist parties, in the inexhaustible potentialities of the working class, the working masses, which, in the course of the class struggle, in preparing and implementing the socialist revolution, in the process of socialist construction, would find and use varied ways and means of solving the common internationalist tasks facing the international working class.

The enemies of socialism, both in the past and today, have invariably attempted to present matters in such a way as if Lenin, the Bolsheviks resorted to "diktat", "imposed" on other parties uniform and stereotyped tactics on all issues. Following in the wake of outspoken anti-communists, the revisionists inside individual Communist parties play, in effect, into the same hands. Posing as "creative", "searching" Marxists, they oppose to scientific communism various models of "national" socialism, going out of their way to play up the importance of the national distinctions of a given country, denying, under the pretext of self-reliance and independence, the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the experience gained by other sections of the working class and its parties.

In reality, the fundamental difference of principle between the Marxists-Leninists and the revisionists is not over the issue of whether the national distinctions should or should not be taken into account in the theoretical and practical activities of the Communist Party of a given country. The answer to this question is clear. The Communist and Workers' parties firmly adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism seek to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism creatively in compliance with the historical and national distinctions of each country, thereby making a joint contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, to the experience in state construction. In the struggle against the revisionists the point at issue is different: the recognition and application of the general laws of building socialism, of the general principles of the socialist state.

In addition, another aspect of this problem merits attention. In the theory and practices of socialist construction embracing, in particular, such an important sphere as the political organisation of society, including the field of state organisation, the very method of analysing the historical and national distinctions of a given country is of fundamental importance.

Lenin taught that this analysis should be approached from class positions, with due regard, in the first place, to the general laws of development and the main contradiction of the given historical epoch. He wrote: "The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within *definite* historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country (e.g., the national programme for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch."¹ Turning back to this idea, somewhat later, Lenin noted again: "...only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundation for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another."² This statement of Lenin's expresses, in effect, the most important methodological requirement which is directly related to the analysis of the national, historical distinctions of individual countries and to the question of their correlation with the general laws. Analysis of these distinctions is not an end in itself for the Communist Party but a means of fulfilling the internationalist tasks facing the working class. The task, Lenin stresses is "...to seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* internationalist task. . .".³

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 400-01.

² V. I. Lenin, "Under a False Flag", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.

³ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.

The forms of the socialist revolution itself, the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian democracy are themselves influenced by numerous economic, social, and ideological factors, the external conditions, the historical and national distinctions of the development of each country. Of decisive importance among them, however, are the level of a given country's economic and cultural development, the alignment of the class forces on the home scene, the balance of power between capitalism and socialism on the international scene, the experience gained in the class struggle, the revolutionary traditions, the degree of maturity and organisation of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party.

Examination of these factors as the decisive ones is of fundamental importance. It enables an analysis of the specific features of state organisation to be made from scientific positions, rules out the risk of subjectivism and a one-sided approach to the solution of problems, emphasises the need for consideration and correct assessment of certain national distinctions and traditions. In case they do not accord with the class interests of the victorious proletariat, are an obstacle to the revolutionary remaking of society, to the construction of the socialist state, the Communist parties struggle against such traditions.

It is not fortuitous that the enemies of socialism are going out of their way to exaggerate the importance of all national distinctions without exception or to push to the forefront those reflecting the most conservative traditions and customs in an antagonistic society. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists deny the decisive importance of the traditions and customs, establishments and institutions emerging in the course of the class struggle of the proletariat for the victory of the socialist revolution.

Lenin's idea of the variety of forms of state construction, and the methods of implementing its general principles, applies, of course, not only to the conquest of political power by the working class, to the formative period of the new, socialist state. This idea is translated into life no less force-

fully in the practical activities of the Communist and Workers' parties in their guidance of state construction at all the later stages of the struggle for the victory of the new social system in a given country, and is tested in the practices of enhancing the active, creative role of the state in solving the major problems of building socialism and communism.

The experience in state construction accumulated by the CPSU is of inestimable international importance for fulfilling the national and internationalist tasks facing the working class in its struggle to build socialism, to implement the transition to the higher phase of communism.

3. EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU:
UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE
IN STATE CONSTRUCTION

The historic experience of the CPSU in all the spheres of social life, including the field of state construction, implies its activities in translating into life the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, in working out, testing, and verifying by practice the varied forms and methods of implementing them in conformity with the concrete historical stages and specific features of the development of a given country, the theoretical generalisation of the results of these activities and the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on this basis.

It is very important that the experience of the CPSU is the fusion, the organic unity of theory and practice, their dialectical interaction. It includes the system of knowledge of the laws of social development, the aggregate of skills, working habits in the leadership of all the forms of the class struggle of the proletariat, the revolutionary remaking of society. The source of this experience is social practice itself, the class struggle, the revolutionary activities of the

proletariat. The experience gained by the Party in the field of directing state construction, its analysis and systematisation are a major source of the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory, particularly the theory of socialist state and democracy.

The most important theoretical conclusion drawn by Marx and Engels is this: the proletariat can achieve its liberation only by preparing and implementing a socialist revolution, by establishing its dictatorship in the interests of building socialism. The transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible without a socialist revolution, a socialist state and democracy, just as true democracy of a new type, democracy for the vast majority of the working people is impossible without socialist gains. Lenin wrote: "...socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy."¹

In the former case, Lenin had in mind the struggle of the proletariat for democracy under capitalism. It is a question of how to use the bourgeois democratic freedoms, democratic institutions in the interests of the proletariat itself and also how to establish proletarian democratic organisations opposed to the bourgeoisie and its state. This struggle, however, can not only help preserve and expand the bourgeois democratic rights and freedoms but also give birth to elements of new, proletarian democracy. Speaking at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Lenin pointed out the need for the working class and its Party to take advantage of all the opportunities available for gaining experience, for creating the necessary prerequisites for

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 74.

its future activities as politically ruling class, for strengthening discipline and organisation required for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹

There is every reason to assert that the working class and its Party, even under capitalism, accumulate definite positive, creative experience. The Party draws this experience from its immense organising, ideological and educational work within the working class. While leading all the forms of the class struggle of the proletariat, including the use of parliamentary institutions and other bourgeois democratic freedoms, the Party itself is steeled and matures in this struggle, cultivating in the working class such traits and qualities that it needs to fulfil not only the tasks of destroying the old order but also the tasks of construction.

The historical experience gained by the working class, and the Communist Party in the democratic movement under capitalism is reinforced and enriched with a new content in the course of the socialist revolution. In the process of breaking down the old, bourgeois machinery of state, liquidating its establishments and institutions, the state of a new, higher, socialist type is created.

Lenin, who was at the helm of the world's first socialist state, went on with his incessant work to further develop the Marxist theory of proletarian state and proletarian democracy. The source of the ideas formulated and substantiated by Lenin in the post-October period was the collective experience of the Communist Party, the experience of the multimillioned masses of working people, the practical activities of the Soviet state in the building of socialism.

The revolutionary practices of building the proletarian state are summed up scientifically in the works of Lenin. His theoretical and ideological legacy is exceptionally great and meaningful as regards its content, the breadth and depth of his analysis of historical experience, so there is full reason

¹ See: V. I. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 255-56.

to consider it a new stage in the development of the Marxist theory of proletarian state.

While handling the formidable tasks facing the country, the Party invariably gave unflagging attention to the problems of state development. The questions of building, developing and strengthening the Soviet state were discussed at Party congresses and conferences, at all congresses of Soviets without exception. They were raised and tackled in the day-to-day activities of the Party's Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, which were both directed by Lenin.

The 7th Communist Party Congress in 1918, the first to meet after the socialist revolution, stressed the need to include in the new Party Programme a precise and detailed definition of the new type of state, the Soviet Republic, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was stated in the decisions of the congress that "under all circumstances the Party will fight for the Soviet Republic as a higher type of democratic state and as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of overthrowing the yoke of the exploiters and suppressing their resistance".¹ The key Leninist principles, which demonstrate the essence, democratic form, goals and tasks of the new proletarian state, Soviet power, were expressed in the Party Programme adopted by the 8th Congress in 1919. The achievements in building the proletarian state, the principles of organisation and activity of Soviet government were expressed and enforced in the first Constitution of Soviet Russia adopted in 1918.

The principles of the socialist state laid down by Lenin have been continually developed and enriched at all the stages of the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism. The organic defects of the bourgeois state are alien to the socialist state by virtue of the qualitatively new socio-

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, 8th edition, Moscow, 1970, Vol. 2, p. 28 (in Russian).

economic and political conditions under which it emerges and develops, by virtue of its social essence and genuinely democratic principles. The development of the socialist state, however, is not smooth and straight, without its contradictions and difficulties caused, as they are, by objective and subjective factors. Here, contradictions may, and, as experience shows, do occur between the old and the new, between content, which is in the process of development, and the form of the socialist state which is relatively more stable. Some of its establishments and institutions, which came into being in the preceding stages of society's development and were justifiable and necessary in the past, cease to meet the requirements of economic development, the interests of broader involvement of the masses in the administration of state in the new stage of socialist and communist construction.

Especially dangerous are red tape, formalism, violations of legality in the activities of individual government bodies, parochialism, manifestations of nationalism. These and similar phenomena, which are very persistent survivals of the old, bourgeois statehood, under definite conditions, with a let-up in Party leadership and control over the state apparatus, may cause grave damage to the development of the state.

If no relentless and determined struggle is waged against them, they may warp individual institutions of socialist democracy, emasculate their truly socialist content.

Under socialism, however, there are the necessary objective and subjective prerequisites for overcoming the internal contradictions and difficulties in state construction. The decisive role in this field is played by the Communist Party. It constantly seeks to reveal the best experience accumulated by individual government bodies and institutions, to extend it to the entire political organisation of society. During the transition to every next stage of building a new society, the Party, taking account of the changes occurring in the social and class structure of society, in its economic and cultural

development, purposively regulates according to plan the further advancement of the socialist state.

The CPSU invariably leans on the support of the masses, regards their experience as an inexhaustible source of ideas for developing Marxist-Leninist theory, improving the practices of state construction. At the same time, the working people display still greater initiative in solving the pressing problems of social, economic, cultural and state development as the Party influence on the advancement of their political and cultural levels becomes more active and fruitful. An important place in these Party activities is held by theoretical generalisation and dissemination of the experience in state organisation. The CPSU provides the working class, all working people with knowledge of the ways and means of perfecting socialist statehood, which makes for the enhanced activity of the masses, their increasingly broader involvement in the administration of state.

The Party's creative attitude to summing up the experience in state development is also expressed in the critical assimilation of this experience, in revealing its most rational elements vitally important for solving new tasks confronting the Party and the people. The collective generalisation of experience through the efforts of hundreds of thousands of front-ranking communists, the analysis and conclusions made at Party congresses, which are the supreme form of collectivism and democracy, rule out the risk of one-sidedness in the assessment of phenomena under discussion. Such an approach makes it possible to single out what is the most essential in the experience available, to clear it from what is accidental and superficial, or attributable, as is often the case, to specific local conditions, to concentrate on the most crucial problems in the interests of a further improvement in all activities and progress. "We must march ahead, we must look ahead..." Lenin said.¹ This is one of the key

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Letter to R.C.P. Organisations on Preparations for the Party Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 405.

tasks of the Party, the most salient feature of the Party direction of state construction.

Practical experience, once it has been summed up, critically reviewed and theoretically analysed, assumes a qualitatively new social meaning. This experience becomes an effective instrument of the Party for raising the role of the state in socialist and communist construction.

The experience of the CPSU as the architect of the socialist state is of immense international importance. It can be emulated by any Communist and Workers' party with allowance for the specific features of the development of a given country. The exchange of experience between the Communist and Workers' parties contributes to more successful activities of each, to the development of the theory and enrichment of the practices of state construction.

Russia's proletariat under the leadership of its Communist Party was the first in history to carry out a victorious socialist revolution, to set up a state of a new, socialist type and to convert it into the main instrument for building socialism and communism.

CHAPTER II

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE WORKING CLASS

1. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VICTORY OF SOVIET POWER IN RUSSIA

Russia's working class led by its vanguard—the Communist Party—played the decisive part in two bourgeois-democratic revolutions which occurred within a relatively brief historical period—those of 1905-1907 and February 1917, prepared and carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution. Its victory culminated in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world's first socialist state.

Why did these historic events of worldwide significance, which have influenced the destinies of all mankind and ushered in a new historical epoch, take place precisely in Russia?

This question is of great theoretical and practical interest.

Russia had entered upon the path of capitalist development later than the other big countries of Europe. By the time of the abolition of serfdom in Russia, the onset of the rapid process of capitalist development and the formation of a modern industrial proletariat, bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the biggest European countries had already been completed, and capitalism had started to grow into its highest and last stage—imperialism. In these countries, the industrial proletariat came on the social scene as an active political force and gained considerable experience in the class struggle, of which the Paris Commune of 1871 had been the culminating point.

The emergence and spread of Marxism, the establishment and activities of the 1st International under the guidance of Marx and Engels played the decisive part in the development of the class self-awareness of the European proletariat. In the overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries of Europe, legal Social-Democratic parties with a massive membership had been formed and operated, and the trade union movement had developed on a broad scale. In many of these countries there existed bourgeois-democratic institutions and establishments, political rights and freedoms, which the working class could and did take advantage of in the class struggle to achieve its immediate objectives.

The industrial proletariat in Russia formed and developed in a more complicated situation. The abolition of serfdom did not result in the complete eradication of feudal relations. The new forms of capitalist exploitation combined with semi-feudal oppression, the most brutal oppression of national minorities, the great power policy of tsarism, which reduced the country's economically and culturally backward outlying provinces to a position of colonies and semi-colonies.

The process of organisation and consolidation of Russia's proletariat took place under a reactionary political regime, which preserved right up to February 1917 the basically feudal state and legislative superstructure with its military-bureaucratic institutions, officialdom, the centralised tsarist autocracy unrestricted by any bourgeois-democratic institutions. With the exception of some brief spells (a few months during the revolution of 1905-1907 and after the revolution of February 1917) the situation in which the first workers' circles and Social-Democratic organisations appeared, the formation of the Bolshevik Party¹ and all its activities up to the victory of the October Revolution was one of illegal underground work, political terror, spying and prov-

¹ Until 1952 the CPSU had been called the All-Union (formerly Russian) Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

ocations, judicial and police violence of tsarism against active members of the revolutionary movement.

The same methods were employed after the events in July 1917 by the bourgeois Provisional Government.

For an understanding of the concrete historical situation in which the mass-scale proletarian movement developed in Russia, it is important to bear in mind the fact that in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the early 20th century, the proletariat had to wage struggle simultaneously against the feudal landlords, who continued to hold the reins of political power, and against the bourgeoisie. This circumstance determined in decisive measure the major distinctive features of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. Whereas in such revolutions in the West the leading role had been played by the bourgeoisie, in Russia it only sought to seize the fruits of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and, as Lenin aptly put it, was stealing its way to power.

During the period between the two revolutions, the bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified feudal lords lost no time in organising themselves politically and placing government bodies under their control. After a few heavy blows dealt to the tsarist autocracy in February 1917, the bourgeoisie and its parties seized the reins of power.¹

The First World War accelerated the political development of the Russian bourgeoisie, and it "overtook" the bourgeoisie of some of the biggest European countries, having formed a "coalition", "parliamentary" government adapted to the defence of its class interests and to carrying on the imperialist war. Outlining the tasks of the proletariat in the socialist revolution in his "Letters from Afar", Lenin described the organisation of the entire Russian bourgeoisie as splendid and emphasised that for the proletariat to seize power and especially to hold it the bourgeoisie should be opposed by an equally splendid organisation of the working

¹ The bourgeois Provisional Government formed alongside the Soviets.

class.¹ Thus, in the period when the October Revolution was prepared and implemented, Russia's proletariat was opposed by a well-organised bourgeoisie, whose power could be overthrown only by mobilising all the forces of the proletariat and its closest allies.

Russia's proletariat had also to overcome formidable difficulties in the ideological field in the struggle against the unscientific views and conceptions of various opportunist groups and factions within the working-class movement and inside the Social-Democratic Party itself. All of them distorted the revolutionary essence of Marxism, attempted to split and undermine the unity of the proletariat.

Much of what was characteristic of the concrete historical situation in Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century was a specific manifestation of the general laws of the world capitalist system which had entered the era of imperialism. This applies, above all, to the economy of Russia which had reached a very high degree of concentration of industry and finance capital. This tended to stimulate the rapid growth of the industrial proletariat, its concentration in large industrial plants and centres.

The alignment of class forces in the country also reflected the general trend of development of socio-political relations under capitalism in the new historical situation. The formation of the proletariat was influenced by both the general trends of economic and political development and by the specific, nationally distinctive forms of their manifestation in Russia (surviving vestiges of serfdom in rural areas, combination of the capitalist, military-feudal and national forms of oppression and exploitation of the working people, the survival of feudal establishments and institutions in the political and legislative superstructure, the cultural backwardness of the mass of the population, particularly in the country's non-Russian outlying provinces, of women, etc.). In that situation, the Bolshevik Party was doing everything to organise

¹ See: V. I. Lenin, "Letters from Afar", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 322.

and unite Russia's proletariat politically, to prepare it for a socialist revolution and for winning political domination.

The decisive role in this work was played, above all, by the activities of Lenin, the Russian Marxists in the further development and integration of scientific socialism with the working-class movement. From the first few steps of its political struggle Russia's proletariat was in a position to lean on a scientific theory of the liberation movement—the teachings of Marx and Engels. The ground for the assimilation and application of Marxism in Russia had been prepared by its socio-economic development, the acute class antagonisms, the revolutionary traditions taking their origin from the peasant uprisings, the activities of the democrats of the 1860s, the revolutionary Narodniks of the 1870s. The finest of what had been done and achieved in the preceding stages of the European and international working-class movement, the entire experience of the class struggle of the proletariat, which had been summed up in Marxist theory, was assimilated by Russia's proletariat and its Party.

The integration of scientific socialism with the working-class movement was of inestimable importance, because it imparted an internationalist character to the revolutionary movement of Russia's proletariat. The proletariat of Russia regarded the struggle for the achievement of its class objectives as the only possible and historically necessary path towards the fulfilment of the internationalist tasks facing the world proletariat. By that time the centre of the revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia, so its proletariat and its Party had become the vanguard of the world proletariat.

The sources of the experience gained by the Party in raising a political force capable of destroying through a revolution the old society, the old state of the exploiters and establishing a state of a new, socialist type to be used in the interests of building socialism lie primarily in the activities of the Bolshevik Party in organising the working class and educating it politically in all the stages of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

The Communist Party as a party of a new type was founded in order to educate, to quote Lenin, "the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of assuming power and *leading the whole people* to socialism, of directing and organising the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in organising their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie".¹

The Programme of the Bolshevik Party adopted by its 2nd Congress in 1903 was the first in the history of the international socialist movement to advance the task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Referring to the socialist revolution and the building of a new society, the Programme pointed out that "the necessary condition for this social revolution was the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the conquest by the proletariat of such political power that would enable it to suppress any resistance of the exploiters".²

The inclusion of this requirement in the Programme of the Bolshevik Party, the political education of Russia's proletariat on this fundamental idea of Marxism made the Bolshevik Party radically different from the Social-Democratic parties of the old type which were affiliated in the 2nd International. In 1891, Engels wrote bitterly about the incipient process of opportunistic degeneration of the leaders of West European Social-Democracy: "Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."³

Having adopted the idea of dictatorship of the proletar-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404.

² *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 1, p. 62.

³ Frederick Engels' Introduction to Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France". In: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. II, Moscow, 1969, p. 189.

iat, the Bolshevik Party thereby resolutely broke with the opportunism of West European Social-Democracy, restored the militant revolutionary traditions of the international proletariat, of the Paris Commune, and acted on the world political scene as heir to these traditions. The ideological, theoretical, and tactical principles of the Party, the forms of its organisation worked out by Lenin in the struggle against the opportunists of Europe and Russia were subordinated to the goal of setting up and consolidating a revolutionary, militant party on the principles of creative Marxism and proletarian internationalism.

In defining its immediate objectives and tasks the Bolshevik Party reckoned, of course, both with the changes in the development of the entire world capitalist system, with its general laws, and with the specific forms of their manifestation in Russia. These guidelines had been formulated in the first Party Programme. It said that on their path towards the common ultimate goal, the Social-Democrats of different countries have to pursue different immediate objectives both because the capitalist mode of production was not equally developed everywhere and because in different countries it was developing in different socio-political situations.¹ Such an attitude conclusively evidenced the Bolshevik Party's creative approach to Marxism and striving to apply its general principles with a view to the concrete historical conditions of the development of a given country.

The Party linked the attainment of its immediate objectives—the "minimum programme"—in the socio-economic field with the question of changing the social nature and character of political power, with the abolition of the tsarist autocracy and the establishment of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in the form of a democratic republic. In other words, the Party did not confine its activities to organising the struggle for

¹ See: *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 1, p. 62.

socio-economic reforms viewed in isolation from the struggle for the transformation of the social and state system of Russia.

On the other hand, the implementation of planned socio-economic measures in organic combination with a change in the character of the state system was regarded by the Party only as a condition and means of transition to the implementation of the "maximum programme". Already in his work "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats", Lenin had further elaborated the Marxist idea of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. In Russia there were quite favourable conditions for this process, and a different alignment of class forces than at the time of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the West.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party regarded the leading role of the proletariat, the establishment and consolidation of its alliance with the peasantry, the isolation of the bourgeoisie, suppression of any attempt on its part to seize power as the main conditions for success in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and for its development into a socialist revolution.

The Bolshevik Party strove to forge the proletariat into an independent political force. The Party subordinated to this goal all the ways and means of the class struggle—political and economic strikes, political manifestations, the struggle for improving the living standards of the proletariat, the trade union movement, Party propaganda and agitation. It opposed any attempt on the part of the opportunists to make the proletariat remain a politically amorphous mass capable of serving only as a tool of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The first Russian revolution was a serious school of politics for the proletariat, for all working people. The working class learned from its own experience that the Bolshevik Party's slogans, political strategy and tactics were correct. In the course of the class battles it used and perfected its purely proletarian ways and means of struggle for power,

for leadership of the semi-proletarian masses, went through a school of struggle for democracy. The vast political experience gained by the proletariat in the first Russian revolution was used and enriched in the later stages of the revolutionary movement.

In this context, the emergence of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies during the first Russian revolution is of particular interest.

Lenin repeatedly underscored that the Soviets had been formed on the initiative of the proletariat itself. Originally, they were the leading organs of political and economic strikes and demonstrations, and later, as the bourgeois-democratic revolution grew in scope and depth, they developed into organs of the armed uprising against the tsarist autocracy.

The birth of the Soviets marked an entire stage in the political development of Russia's proletariat. The emergence and revolutionary practical activities of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were the most conclusive proof of the increased political activity of the masses, of their awareness of the need to have their own militant, democratic organisation opposed to all the organisations of the ruling class, the state, first and foremost. Under the tsarist autocracy, which was extremely reactionary in essence and in forms of its internal state organisation, there were no democratic state institutions with any measure of stability or real powers representing all Russia. The State Duma—a semblance of a Russian parliament—set up under the impact of the revolutionary developments in 1905—both in that period and in later years was a coarse fake of nationwide popular representation. In that situation, the Soviets were, in effect, the only democratic organisations which were the direct opposite of all the existing organisations and institutions of the ruling classes as far as their social nature, principles of composition and activities were concerned. The Soviets were set up during the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 on the initiative of the working masses themselves as government of the

majority, which could and did continue to function thanks to the support of the proletarian masses and their involvement in the activities of the Soviets. In February 1905, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was set up, and early in March the Soviets were established in Moscow and a number of other industrial centres of Russia. Following their example, Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies and Soviets of Peasants' Deputies began to spring up.

Workers, soldiers and peasants acting on their own initiative elected Soviets out of their representatives. The Soviets leaned on the support of armed workers and soldiers and acted as government bodies, declaring specified injunctions and orders of the old authorities and military commanders null and void; handling various economic problems; taking steps to meet the basic needs of the working people. The Soviets directed the revolutionary struggle of the working people, organised strikes and demonstrations, armed uprisings against tsarism. Thus, they were the organs of uprising and government of the proletarian masses.

The Soviets came on the scene again in the early days of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917. This evidenced that the idea of the Soviets had been alive in the minds of the proletariat and struck deep roots in the heart of the masses. The participation of large sections of the working class in the Soviets, their revolutionary practices, contributed to the development by Russia's proletariat of democratic traditions, of methods to combine the struggle for democracy with other ways and means of struggle against the tsarist autocracy.

Immediately after his return to Russia from foreign exile on the night of April 3, Lenin made a speech at a meeting of activists of the Petrograd organisation of the Bolshevik Party. Speaking on April 4 at a meeting of Bolshevik delegates to the All-Russia Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, he delivered the report "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution", elaborating on the ideas of his previous speech. These were the historic

ten *April Theses* which gave the answer to the most vital problems of the revolutionary situation in Russia.

Having summed up the experience of the two revolutions in Russia and the revolutionary innovation of the popular masses, Lenin finalised his conclusion on the Soviet Republic as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said in particular: "Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom."¹ Lenin's formula of the Soviet Republic was a continuation and development of the views on the proletarian state held by Marx and Engels. The experience of the Paris Communards multiplied by the experience of Russia's proletariat provided the basis on which Lenin further developed Marxist theory, discovered a new state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The 7th All-Russia Conference of Bolsheviks in April 1917 unanimously approved the *April Theses*, which set out a programme and concrete plan of struggle for the peaceful development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution and adopted Lenin's slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" as the Party motto. This meant that Lenin's theoretical conclusion on the Soviet Republic accepted by the Bolshevik Party became a requirement of its programme. Supported by broad sections of the working class, the working masses, this requirement assumed real material force and determined the character and direction of the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" called for the establishment of the supreme authority of the Soviets as organs of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 23.

The establishment of such a dictatorship in the form of a Soviet Republic was necessary in order to fulfil the following dual task: to consolidate the gains of the first stage of the revolution and to provide the requisite conditions for transition to the next stage—the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This slogan implied the possibility of peaceful development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution without an armed uprising and a civil war.

Consequently, contrary to what has been slanderously alleged by the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks¹ and the Socialist-Revolutionaries,² as well as by their patrons from the camp of the 2nd International, the Bolshevik Party, far from rejecting the possibility of implementing a socialist revolution by peaceful means, quite consciously and with full determination set course towards its peaceful development. It steered towards the abolition of dual power by concentrating supreme authority in the hands of the Soviets (this was made possible by the very existence of the Soviets supported

¹ The Mensheviks as a petty-bourgeois opportunist group made their appearance at the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP in 1903. At this congress, in the election to the Party's governing bodies the Leninists won the majority of votes and hence were called Bolsheviks (from the Russian "bolshe"—greater), while the opportunist minority group was named Mensheviks (from the Russian "menshe"—smaller).

In the latter stages of the revolutionary movement in Russia, the Mensheviks, which represented a trend in international opportunism, went ahead with their distortion of Marxism, opposing the leading role of the working class in the revolution, its conquest of political power, and seeking to sow doubts about the possibility of building socialism in the country.

² The Socialist-Revolutionaries were a petty-bourgeois party founded in Russia in 1902, a party of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie as far as class composition was concerned. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the division inside the party grew. In December 1917, the Left wing of the Socialist-Revolutionaries formed an independent party, which, after a brief spell of collaboration with the Bolsheviks, launched an open attack against Soviet power, organising counter-revolutionary conspiracies and rebellions.

by the revolutionary people), which was to be followed by patient, persistent and systematic work among the masses to show them the essence of the misguided and harmful policy and tactics of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders and thereby to win a Bolshevik majority in the Soviets.

In planning this policy, the Party was guided by the conviction that as the revolution developed the working class, the poor peasants would come to realise from their own experience the opportunist essence of the policy and tactics of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The possibility of a peaceful settlement of the issue of power was thwarted by the joint efforts of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders of the Soviets. After the events of July 1917, when the bourgeoisie resorted to violence, ordering troops to fire on a peaceful demonstration of working people in Petrograd, while the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leadership in the Soviets actually supported these actions of the Provisional Government and slid into the counter-revolutionary camp, the situation in the country changed radically. The peaceful development of the revolution was no longer possible. The Bolshevik Party temporarily withdrew the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" and set course towards preparing an armed uprising, i.e., changed its tactics in a resolute and revolutionary way.

It is important to note that the withdrawal of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" did not mean a renunciation by the Bolshevik Party of its plans to establish a Soviet Republic as the most democratic state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin wrote confidently: "Soviets may appear in this new revolution, and indeed are bound to, but *not* the present Soviets, not organs collaborating with the bourgeoisie, but organs of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is true that even then we shall be in favour of building the whole state on the model of the Soviets. It

is not a question of Soviets in general, but of combating the *present* counter-revolution and the treachery of the *present* Soviets."¹ Lenin's prevision was fully corroborated by later developments. During the rule of the Provisional Government and especially in the days of General Kornilov's mutiny, which threatened the establishment of a military dictatorship, broad masses of workers and peasants saw with their own eyes the fruits of the conciliatory policy of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, their cringing before the bourgeoisie. Between late August and early September 1917, the Soviets became Bolshevised: the working people expelled Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary deputies from many Soviets and elected Bolsheviks to replace them. All this led to a new change in the Party tactics: in the days preparatory to the armed uprising the Party again put forward the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!". In view of the changed alignment of class forces, however, this slogan already had a different content, calling for the implementation of the socialist revolution by means of an armed uprising, for the direct establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Republic.

Under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Russia's proletariat in alliance with the poor peasants and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, seized political power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets. Their exhaustive definition is given in Lenin's work "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?": "If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for the proletariat could certainly not retain power with the old state apparatus, and it is impossible to create a new apparatus immediately."² Turning back to this idea and supporting it by an analysis of the building of the proletarian state, which was already going on

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On Slogans", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 189.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 104.

on broad scale in Soviet Russia, Lenin stated at the 7th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1918: "The Soviets were the available form, and that is why in the political sphere the future held out to us those brilliant successes, the continuous triumphal march, that we had; for the new form of political power was already available, and all we had to do was to pass a few decrees, and transform the power of the Soviets from the embryonic state in which it existed . . . into the legally recognised form which had become established in the Russian state—i.e., into the Russian Soviet Republic."¹

Thus, the political experience the Bolshevik Party had gained in the earlier stages of the revolutionary movement, the practical revolutionary activities of the Party and the working class played the decisive role in preparing and implementing the October Revolution, on the one hand, and in fulfilling the most crucial tasks posed by the birth of the world's first proletarian state. The most essential part of this experience is as follows.

The Bolshevik Party as a party of the new, Leninist type in all its activities in the leadership of the proletariat leaned on Marxist theory, the ideas of proletarian internationalism, strove to implant the ideas of scientific socialism in the minds of the working class, all working people.

The Party taught the working class to realise the historical necessity and inevitability of its conquest of political power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It strove to combine organically the struggle of the working class for its immediate objectives with the efforts to solve the main problems involved in the preparation and implementation of the socialist revolution.

The political education of the working class to help it realise the ways and means of safeguarding its common class interests was in the focus of the ideological work of the Bolshevik Party. It contributed to the development of the high political activity and the revolutionary initiative of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 90.

the working class. This was best illustrated by the setting up of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, genuinely democratic proletarian organisations without precedent in world history.

The Party gave full support to the initiative of the working class, encouraged it to develop its democratic traditions. It regarded the achievements of the working class in the political field as the prerequisites for its conquest of political power, for democracy of the proletarian type.

The Party was intransigent towards all sorts of opportunist distortions of Marxist theory, attempts to belittle the importance of the political experience of the Party and the working class. This was manifested particularly strikingly in the Bolshevik Party's stand against the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders on the issue of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, in solving the practical problems of struggle for the establishment of Soviet power.

In its struggle for the conquest of political power by the working class the Party used flexible and diverse peaceful and non-peaceful ways and means, skilfully changed its tactics in the course of revolutionary developments, subordinating them to the attainment of its chief strategic objective.

The political experience of the Bolshevik Party was multiplied and enriched in the process of implementing the socialist revolution itself, of establishing and consolidating the world's first proletarian Soviet state.

2. EMULATION OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU
BY COMMUNISTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES
IN THE STRUGGLE
FOR THE DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new historical epoch, the epoch of the transition of different countries and peoples to socialism. The impact of the

October Revolution gave rise to a powerful upsurge of the international working-class and national liberation movement.

Lenin viewed the victory of the October Revolution and the establishment of the world's first proletarian state from class, internationalist positions. He regarded this historic event of worldwide significance as an achievement not only of Russia's working class but also of the international working class, which for the first time could now lean in its struggle on the support of Russia's proletariat organised as a politically ruling class.

The Great October Socialist Revolution contributed to greater unity and cohesion of the forces of the international working class, to a rise in the level of its political maturity, to overcoming the opportunist influence of the parties of the 2nd International, which cultivated social-reformist illusions among the working people.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the establishment of Soviet power by the working class lent greater clarity and conviction to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its role and importance in implementing the historic mission of the proletariat.

The influence of the ideas of the October Revolution, and the force of attraction it held, the impact of the general crisis of capitalism and the development of the working-class movement gave a new impetus to the process of unification of the international working class and the growth of its political awareness. Workers' parties of the new, Leninist type were formed in many countries of the world. Walter Ulbricht, a prominent leader of the German communists, one of the activists of the 3rd Communist International, said in this connection: "The victory of the Russian working class and its allies under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the greatest historic event of worldwide significance in our century. It exerted a direct influence on Germany. The triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Russia gave the decisive impetus to

the formation of the Communist Party of Germany.”¹ Maurice Thorez, an outstanding figure in the world and French communist movement, said that the example set by the Bolshevik Party stimulated the rise and renaissance of the French working-class movement. This example along with the finest traditions of the French people and the specific features of the situation in France predetermined the formation of the French Communist Party.

In 1918-1919 Communist parties were formed in Germany, Austria, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Argentina; Communist groups and Left-wing socialist organisations sprang up in many countries. Already the 1st Congress of the new, 3rd International founded on Lenin's initiative, which was held in Moscow in March 1919, was attended by 52 representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from 30 countries of the world.

The Communist International played an exceptionally important part in promoting the unity and cohesion of the truly revolutionary forces of the international working class, in the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Communist parties, in exposing the opportunism of the leaders of the 2nd International. The Communist International became a veritable school of proletarian internationalism, creative Marxism, of the study and generalisation of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, the October Revolution, the experience of state organisation and economic development in Soviet Russia. Karl Liebknecht wrote in 1919 that the Soviet Republic had become the banner of struggle, the banner of the International, giving heart to the vacillating, increasing the courage and determination of fighters tenfold.

The 1st Congress which decided to set up the International and endorsed its platform discussed and approved

¹ *Messages of Congratulation to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow, 1967, p. 32 (in Russian).

Lenin's theses on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which showed the fundamental difference between bourgeois and proletarian democracy, the historical necessity of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as an indispensable condition for the political and social liberation of the working class, of all working people. Describing the cardinal difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rule of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, Lenin wrote: "...proletarian dictatorship must inevitably entail not only a change in democratic forms and institutions, generally speaking, but precisely such a change as provides an unparalleled extension of the actual enjoyment of democracy by those oppressed by capitalism—the toiling classes".¹ Referring to the worldwide historic significance of Soviet power, he noted that the Soviet organisation of the state was the most effective means of ensuring the leading role of the proletariat, that this organisation alone could "really effect the immediate break-up and total destruction of the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic and judiciary machinery, which has been, and has inevitably had to be, retained under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, and which is, in actual fact, the greatest obstacle to the practical implementation of democracy for the workers and working people generally. The Paris Commune took the first epoch-making step along this path. The Soviet system has taken the second".²

The congress unanimously adopted the Manifesto to the workers of the world, in which it appealed for a determined fight for proletarian dictatorship, for the victory of the Soviets.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920 specially discussed the question of the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian movement, the key problems of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "First Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 465.

² *Ibid.*, p. 466.

political strategy and tactics of the Communist parties. The decisions of the congress were based on the conclusions Lenin drew in his work "‘Left-Wing’ Communism—an Infantile Disorder". The basic principles of strategy and tactics he formulated expressed in condensed form the immense historical experience of the Bolshevik Party: the history of the formation and development of the Party itself; the leadership of the working class and its allies in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution; the conquest of political power by the working class, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian state. Having advanced the use of all forms of the class struggle as the central task of the Communist parties in preparing and implementing the socialist revolution, Lenin persistently emphasised the necessity for each party to use creatively the general principles of Marxism, to search for a form of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution in accordance with the historical and national distinctions of a given country.¹ Proceeding from an analysis of the situation in many countries, he warned of the dangers of Right-wing and "Left" opportunism.

The decisions taken by the congress of the Comintern evidenced the unanimous recognition of the international importance of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, which was accepted as a model for emulation by the Communist parties of all countries. Already the very first steps of the Communist International were of immense significance for the development of the revolutionary traditions and for the enrichment of the different sections of the international working class with the experience of revolutionary struggle. In that period, this was of special importance, because the proletariat in many countries of Europe had not yet got rid of parliamentary illusions, large sections of it were still under the influence of the reformist conceptions of the Right

¹ See: V. I. Lenin, "‘Left-Wing’ Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.

wing leaders of the 2nd International, while the Communist parties were still gathering strength.

The international working class immediately demonstrated its attitude to Soviet power, to the experience of Russia's proletariat, and the Bolshevik Party by the fact that its individual sections followed their example. The developments in Bavaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Slovakia immediately after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution culminated in the establishment of Soviet Republics in these countries. It was only through the efforts of the allied forces of internal counter-revolution and the armed forces of the Entente, which took advantage, in addition, of the mistakes made by the young Communist parties, that proletarian power was suppressed there.

The Soviets also sprang up in working-class districts of Poland. In the summer and autumn of 1919, the entire proletariat of Bulgaria led by its young Communist Party rose to a strike struggle unprecedented in the country's history. The revolutionary actions of the miners of Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1920s culminated in the December general strike of the Yugoslav proletariat, which was brutally suppressed by the bourgeois government.

During the years of the Civil War (1918-1921), the international working class displayed genuine sentiments of proletarian internationalism, rendering every kind of moral support to Soviet Russia. The aggressive policy of the bourgeois governments which took part in direct intervention and supported the overthrown exploiting classes in Russia was denounced at meetings and demonstrations held in the capitalist countries. The movement for an end to the imperialist aggression against Soviet Russia assumed a particularly wide scope within the working classes of the USA, Britain, France and other developed capitalist countries.

Practical assistance to Soviet Russia was given by the workers of Sofia, Kladno, Prague, Budapest, Warsaw, Sliven and other industrial centres of the countries which are

socialist today. They held meetings and demonstrations, refused to load military equipment and materiel for the interventionists and the whiteguards. Many prisoners of war who were in Russian territory during the First World War took an active part in the defence of Soviet power, fought as members of the International units of the Red Army against the whiteguards and foreign interventionists; among them there were Germans, Poles, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Chinese, and others.

The torrents of slander which flowed at that time from the pages of the bourgeois press, from the rostrums of parliaments in bourgeois republics were intended to mislead the working people of the world, to conceal and distort the truth about the October Revolution and Soviet power. Many efforts in this direction were also undertaken by the leaders of the 2nd International like Kautsky, Vandervelde, and their like. In that situation, Lenin's work "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", his speeches at congresses of the Communist International, his letters to the Communists and workers of Britain, France, Holland, Austria, Germany and America were of immense international significance. Lenin deemed it his internationalist duty to explain not only the essence and character of Soviet power, of proletarian democracy, but also the most important measures carried out by the Bolshevik Party in the field of state construction.¹

The Left-wing groups and factions of Social-Democratic organisations began to break away from the 2nd International. The front-ranking, progressive-minded members of the working class of the capitalist countries united in so-

¹ See: Lenin's letters to the International Association for Information of the Labour Press of America, France, and Britain (*Collected Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 44-45); to the Finnish comrades (Vol. 35, p. 325); to the American socialist internationalists (Vol. 44, p. 97); to American workers (Vol. 28, pp. 62-75); to members of the Spartacus group (Vol. 35, p. 369); to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (Vol. 30, pp. 87-88); to the Austrian communists, etc.

cialist and Communist groups. The Communist parties were being set up on the platform formulated by the 3rd Communist International, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The ideas of socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the fundamental ideas of Marxism translated into reality in revolutionary Russia became the banner of the Communist and Workers' parties. The epoch of domination of the working-class movement by the 2nd International, which had discredited itself by its social-chauvinism¹ during the First World War and by its attitude to the October Revolution, came to an end. A new epoch began in the political struggle of the world working class—the epoch of the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

The revolutionary traditions of Russia's proletariat and its Bolshevik Party, the experience in the conquest and consolidation of Soviet power enjoyed ever broader recognition within the international working-class movement, were assuming worldwide significance. The new, Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist countries took the lead in propaganda of the experience of Russia's proletariat, of the Bolshevik Party, in the struggle for proletarian power.

¹ Social-chauvinism: a nationalist trend within the Social-Democratic parties of the 2nd International (founded in 1889), which arose during the First World War (1914-1918) and put forward the idea of "defence of the bourgeois fatherland".

Lenin pointed out that the social-chauvinists were socialists in name and chauvinists in fact. The social-chauvinists—official representatives of the 2nd International, denied the imperialist character of the war of 1914-1918 and appealed for collaboration between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat inside the country, for war against other nations in the name of defence of the bourgeois fatherland. In the parliaments of such countries as Britain, Germany, and others, representatives of the Social-Democratic parties voted in favour of credits for the conduct of the imperialist war, and many of them became Ministers in the imperialist governments. The betrayal of the proletarian cause by the leaders of the 2nd International was not accidental, but was part of their general opportunist policy.

Whereas before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Bolshevik Party had been the only working-class party to proclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat as its goal, now that Soviet power had been established in Russia this political task was assumed by all the parties of the Communist International. The Communist Party of Germany, which was at the time the biggest of Europe's Communist parties, proclaimed in its programme that capitalist slavery could be abolished only by a socialist revolution and the conquest of political power by the working class. The same idea was reflected and formulated in the programme documents of the Communist parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and other countries. Thus, the fundamental ideas of scientific socialism were being implanted in the minds of the working class by the Communist parties; they constituted the main content of all their ideological, educational and propaganda work. All this was evidence to the effect that the experience in the political enlightenment and education of Russia's proletariat which had been gained by the Bolshevik Party and yielded practical results was adopted and emulated by the Communist parties of other countries.

The principles, ideas and objectives formulated in the programme documents of the Communist parties dealt with the internal contradictions in the capitalist countries, expressed the vital interests of the proletariat, of all working people of these countries, took account of the specific features of their socio-political development. This was precisely the reason why the ideas of Marxism-Leninism were spreading widely amidst the working class, contributing to a steady advancement of its political awareness.

Overcoming the difficulties of growth, individual manifestations of sectarianism, the ill-conceived Social-Democratic traditions, the Communist parties matured and steeled themselves in the class battles, set up closer links with the masses, mobilising them to the struggle against the exploiters, for national and social liberation. A glorious page in the his-

tory of the international proletarian movement was inscribed by the Bulgarian working class which rose up in arms in September 1923, almost throughout the country, against the monarchist-fascist dictatorship, for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government. In some areas of Bulgaria, the insurgents seized power. The uprising was led by the military revolutionary committee headed by Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov. The uprising failed for a number of objective and subjective reasons. Speaking at the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party in 1948, the leader of the Bulgarian Communists Georgi Dimitrov said: "There are, however, defeats which contribute effectively to the future victory of the liberation cause of the working class. The defeat of the September 1923 uprising was one of them. . . .

"The September uprising left a deep bleeding cleft between the popular masses and the fascist bourgeoisie that could no longer be patched up. During the whole subsequent period fascism could no longer consolidate its positions and create a broad social base for itself. On the other hand, the selfless struggle, the consistent and tireless efforts of the Communist Party to set up a united anti-fascist front brought the Party and the popular masses closer together, strengthened its links with them, and created the prerequisites for the Party to become the true leader of the working people in town and country in the struggle for democracy and socialism."¹ In this analysis of the revolutionary developments in Bulgaria, one's attention is drawn by the conclusions on the close links and continuity of the different stages in the revolutionary movement, the role of the Communist Party and its activities in the application of the general principles of strategy and tactics in compliance with the specific conditions in the country.

In the early 1930s, there were big strikes of Czechoslovak miners in the Mostetz district, Kladno, Ostrava, Handlov.

¹ G. Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1957, pp. 589-90 (in Russian).

The massive actions of Rumanian oil workers and railwaymen turned into veritable strike battles of the revolutionary proletariat. The railwaymen's strike early in 1933, whose centre was in the Grivic railway workshops in Bucharest, had a clearly political character. In addition to economic demands the workers insisted on the recognition of the factory committees, the release of all political prisoners, the implementation of a policy of peace and co-operation with the USSR. The strike at the Semperlit Works in Cracow in March 1936 culminated in a general strike and street fighting between the workers and the police. In the same year, 130,000 textile and steel workers, workers of munitions plants went on strike in Lodz, Poland. Following the actions of the proletariat the peasant masses rose to a struggle for land.

The revolutionary movement in these countries was distinguished by an increasingly closer combination of the economic and political forms of struggle, which was a particularly graphic expression of the political and organisational activities of the Communists. Taking advantage, above all, of the experience of Russia's proletariat and its Party, they learned to use all the forms of the class struggle, to apply the Leninist principles of political strategy and tactics in compliance with the specific conditions of the development of their countries.

The Communist International helped to sum up this experience, exposed the distinctive features of every new stage in the international working-class movement, drew up by collective efforts the general programme of activities of all parties. For example, the 6th Congress of the Comintern (July-September 1928), in view of the prevailing international situation, called on all Communist and Workers' parties to explain broadly the dangers of a new war, to struggle for peace, for defence of the USSR, to support the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. The 7th Congress of the Comintern held in July-August 1935, which was attended by delegates from the

Communist parties of 65 countries of the world, faced the Communists of all countries with the task of setting up a united anti-fascist workers' front, pointed out the need for a close link between the struggle against war and the struggle against fascism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, jointly with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, contributed to the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory, in particular, the Leninist principles of state development. It shared with the fraternal parties its experience in theoretical, political and organisational work, regarding all its activities as the fulfilment of not only the national but also internationalist tasks of the international working class.

Before the Second World War, which was unleashed by nazi Germany, the Communist and Workers' parties of the countries of Central and South-East Europe and Asia had traversed a long path of development, accumulated vast experience in the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the toiling masses.

During the Second World War, these parties aroused the working class, the peasantry, all progressive, democratic sections of society to the national liberation struggle against fascism and took the lead in this struggle which was part of the international revolutionary movement of the working class. From the very outset this struggle was interlocked with the class struggle against the exploiting elite in the satellite and occupied countries, against all those who had betrayed the interests of the people and collaborated with the invaders.

As is known, almost in all countries of Central and South-East Europe and in a number of Asian countries, the revolutions began in essence as people's democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolutions, which in their next, higher stage developed into socialist revolutions. In these countries there had been objective prerequisites for revolution in the form of a specific revolutionary situation: the "upper strata" of the exploiting classes in a number of

countries leaned on the military support of Hitlerite Germany, and where the German occupation regime had been established, as in Czechia, for example, the comprador bourgeoisie collaborated with the invaders. The revolution, however, could be accomplished only through the purposive, revolutionary and organising activities of the Communist and Workers' parties, which were in the vanguard of the working class and rallied round it all the democratic forces of society. This struggle was waged under exceedingly complicated conditions in the countries occupied by the nazis and in the satellite countries.

The machinery of state in these countries, which rested on diverse, including military, support from nazi Germany, was used by the ruling classes to suppress the revolutionary movement of the popular masses, the Communists and other democratic forces. In the "independent" state of Slovakia headed by Josef Tiso, formed with Hitler's personal approval for demagogic and nationalistic purposes, nazi troops took part in suppressing the Slovak popular uprising, using their usual methods of terror against the insurgents.

The Soviet Army fulfilled its historic mission of liberation by routing the military machine of nazi Germany and its allies and creating favourable conditions for all the revolutionary forces of national liberation to come into the open. The defeat of nazi Germany and militarist Japan, to which the Soviet Union had contributed decisively, provided favourable conditions for the overthrow by the peoples of the rule of the capitalists and landlords in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. Thus, an external factor helped bring into play the internal possibilities which had existed in these countries for implementing a people's democratic and a socialist revolution.

Analysis of the process of the growing over of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution merits special attention. This process itself is the most conclusive evidence of the political maturity of the Communist and Workers' parties, of their creativity in the application of the

Leninist theory of socialist revolution and the experience of the Bolshevik Party to the solution of the central issue of the revolution—the issue of power.

Lenin affirmed that a socialist revolution in ideal form is impossible, that it develops from democratic, national liberation revolutions as their continuation and culmination. Such was the case in Russia in 1917, when the bourgeois democratic revolution developed under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party into the socialist revolution which established the political power of the working class.

The Communist and Workers' parties in the European and Asian countries, where the situation had matured for a people's democratic revolution, ensured the necessary organisation of the working class, helped it realise the objectives and tasks of the revolution, mustered up a political force for implementing it. In so doing they took advantage of and enriched Lenin's conclusions on the conditions for preparing and carrying out a democratic revolution and for its growing over into a socialist revolution.

In the process of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle, as far back as the first stage of the people's democratic revolution, the class forces underwent differentiation. The proletariat led by the Communist and Workers' parties united and rallied round it the peasantry, middle-class sections in towns, handicraftsmen and other small proprietors, part of the middle national bourgeoisie. It was a great desert of the Communist and Workers' parties that they expressed in the general democratic programme of the people's democratic revolution the sentiments and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of society, and persuaded it that none of the general democratic tasks could be fulfilled until the fascist invaders had been routed, the tyrannic regimes overthrown and power taken by the people. No less important was the fact that this programme envisaged such general democratic measures (abolition of large capitalist property, agrarian reform, etc.), which prepared the working class and all working people for further progress of

the revolution, made its development into a socialist revolution both necessary and inevitable.

The preparation and implementation of the people's democratic revolution have reaffirmed the international significance of the experience of the Bolshevik Party in establishing and using in different stages of the revolution democratic organisations of a new type, organisations expressing the will and interests of the broad popular masses. Such a general democratic organisation in these countries, which was led by the Communist Party, was the Fatherland (National) Front.

The history of the emergence of the Fatherland Front differs, of course, in many respects from that of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Russia. The Fatherland Front had its specific structure and performed its specific tasks in different stages of the people's democratic revolution. It had a broader social base than the Soviets: all the working classes, the middle strata of society and the democratic-minded section of the national bourgeoisie, progressive political parties and public organisations. Nevertheless, just as the Soviets the Fatherland Front was formed in the course of the class struggle on the initiative of the toiling masses themselves, and contributed tremendously to their mobilisation and organisation for carrying out the people's democratic revolution. The Fatherland Front, just as the Soviets on the eve of the October Revolution, was headed by the Communist and Workers' parties. "The idea to set up the Fatherland Front," said Georgi Dimitrov, referring to the history of its formation in Bulgaria, "did not occur accidentally, nor was it imposed from the outside or from above. This salutary idea had matured within the midst of the people as a result of the working people's struggle against the traitorous monarchy of the Coburgs, against the corrupt capitalist bourgeoisie and its anti-popular cliques."¹ Georgi Dimitrov stressed that the historical roots of the Fatherland Front were

¹ G. Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 457 (in Russian).

deeply implanted in the past revolutionary struggles of the masses, which they, under the strong impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, had waged under the leadership of the Communist Party for their national independence and the progressive development of society. This description reflects the major traits and specific features of the Fatherland (National) Front characteristic of this organisation in all the People's Democracies. The Fatherland Front is an organisation of the popular masses established on their initiative in the course of the class struggle and reflecting the degree of political maturity and awareness of the working class and its allies. Another of its most essential features is that its core is the working class led by the Communist and Workers' parties. They have used the Fatherland Front for preparing and implementing the people's democratic revolution, establishing the people's power and its growing over into the dictatorship of the working class.

Within the framework of the Fatherland Front, the process of re-grouping of the political and class forces of society was in progress, which reflected the changes taking place in it, and, accordingly, its role in the fulfilment of the central tasks of the people's democratic revolution tended to grow. The decisive factor was that the working class led by its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist parties—acted as the unanimously recognised leader of all of society's democratic forces in all the stages of the revolution.

The maturity and skill of the political leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties were manifest in their ability to take advantage of the revolutionary traditions and the experience gained by the international working-class movement, by Russia's proletariat and the Bolshevik Party, and to apply them to the concrete historical conditions of their own countries. This provided one of the major prerequisites for the victorious culmination of the socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries and for the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the field of state development.

CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST STATE

1. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU AS THE ARCHITECT AND BUILDER OF THE SOVIET STATE

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia meant the solution of the key issue, that of power—the conversion of the proletariat into a politically ruling class and the establishment of its dictatorship. The Bolshevik Party embarked on the practical fulfilment of the tasks involved in the abolition of the old state of exploiters and the establishment of a new, socialist state.

The Party and the working class met with tremendous difficulties in this field. The proletarian revolution had won in only one country, which was relatively backward economically and culturally. The working class, which had taken power in its own hands, had not, nor could it naturally have, the requisite experience and skills in the administration of state, an adequate number of specialists that were needed in the diverse fields of socialist construction. What is more, as a result of the Civil War and the military intervention of the imperialist powers, the national economy was in a catastrophic state, and within the working class itself, that section which was deprived of the possibility to work in industry, was on the threshold of becoming declassed.

The deposed exploiting classes still owned considerable material resources and had experienced specialists, in the military field in particular. With indirect and not infre-

quently with direct support from the petty-bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the nationalists, these classes sought to exploit the vacillations of the middle peasants. In its early period, Soviet power met with desperate resistance from government officials, many of whom resorted to direct sabotage.

In fulfilling the tasks of building and consolidating the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party experienced fairly great difficulties of a purely practical character too. The process of building the proletarian state was still in its take-off stage and had a path untrodden in history lying ahead.

The Marxist theory developed by Lenin for the new historical situation gave the answer to the problems of principle, served as a dependable foundation for working out the general line of the Party, the Soviet Communists in all the spheres of activity, including state development. In his work "The State and Revolution" written before the October Revolution, Lenin not only re-established Marx's and Engels' ideas and views on the state distorted by the opportunists of the 2nd International, but also further developed the Marxist teaching on the proletarian state, its significance and role in the socialist transformation of society. In this work, as well as in the articles "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" and a number of other works, Lenin outlined a programme of crucial measures to be implemented in building the Soviet state machine immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution.

The implementation of these measures required the exertion of all the creative powers of the Party and the working class. Painstaking, systematic work had to be carried out to evolve and test in practice the forms and methods of building the new socialist state, of involving the mass of the working people in this cause.

Without the daily revolutionary, transformative activities of the Party, its theoretical principles and conclusions could

not have become a material force capable of promoting the entire cause of state construction. Nor could the theory of the proletarian state and socialist democracy have been further developed without them.

This is confirmed, in particular, by what was a highly important stage in the development by Lenin of the teaching on the Soviet Republic as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In April 1917, Lenin wrote about such a new political form of state, in which the entire system of Soviets from top to bottom, throughout the country would be united and headed by a supreme representative body established by the working people themselves.¹ What will this institution be like? What executive and administrative bodies will be established? How will they be correlated to the supreme representative body of the Soviet Republic? These and many other questions could be answered practically only in the process of the revolution itself, as a result of the creative activity of the Bolshevik Party and the working class. What matters here is not, of course, the name of the supreme representative body, Lenin noted. It is important, he emphasised, that it should be a truly representative organ of the working masses rather than a typical institution of a bourgeois parliamentary republic constructed after the projects of bourgeois professors of law, which could only be used for perpetuating the bourgeois parliamentary republic and for strangling the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.²

The supreme bodies of the Soviet state set up in place of the old state machine, which had remained almost intact after the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917, were the direct product of the creative activity of the masses led by the Bolshevik Party. These bodies took shape at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants'

¹ See: V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 67-68, 107.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

Deputies,¹ which had supreme legislative powers, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, and the Council of People's Commissars—the government of Soviet Russia.²

The most important part of the Bolshevik Party's experience in the establishment of the proletarian state was that it had leaned on the support and initiative of the working class, of all working people, and had taken a firm stand in favour of strengthening the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry, the key principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The existence of such a party, equipped, as it was, with Marxist-Leninist theory, tested and steeled in the class battles, closely linked with the masses, expressing their interests and having firm knowledge of how and in what direction to advance its cause, was one of the decisive factors of the victory of Soviet power, of its continued consolidation, and the overcoming of all difficulties.

The Bolshevik Party's policy in the field of state construction was expressed and enforced in the historic documents of the October Revolution drawn up by Lenin, in the decisions of the congresses, conferences, and plenary meetings of its Central Committee. In the very first appeal of the Council of People's Commissars just formed by a decision of the 2nd All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, Lenin declared: "Comrades, working people! Remember that now *you yourselves* are at the helm of

¹ The All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies assumed this name after the Extraordinary and the 2nd All-Russia Congresses of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, which existed side by side with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, had expressed at the end of 1917 their unanimous support for the policy of the Bolshevik Party and decided to merge the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies into the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

² The All-Russia Central Executive Committee was elected by the All-Russia Congress of Soviets and was accountable to it, just as the Council of People's Commissars and the bodies of state administration under its control.

state. No one will help you if you yourselves do not unite and take into *your* hands *all affairs* of state. *Your* Soviets are from now on the organs of state authority, legislative bodies with full powers.”¹ In the same appeal, the Council of People’s Commissars called on the working people to establish stringent revolutionary law and order, to institute control over the production and distribution of products and emphasised the importance of the practical experience of the workers and peasants for the victory of socialism.

On the basis of involving the working people in vigorous political activities, the old state apparatus in the centre and the provinces was demolished, the state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat were set up, and the most crucial economic and socio-political tasks of the socialist revolution were tackled. This was an expression of the democratic character of the proletarian state, the emergence of a qualitatively new form of democracy—socialist democracy.

Bourgeois sociologists and lawyers have always regarded as a criterion of genuine democracy the existence in society of several parties and equal opportunities for each of them in the struggle for power, for participation in the administration of state.

It will be recalled in this context that in Russia before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution besides the proletarian Bolshevik Party there had been quite a few bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Just as in any class society, however, there were no, nor could there be equal opportunities in the struggle for power, especially for the proletarian party. Every political party is backed by definite classes, and the balance of power between them determines, in effect, the position and role of a party in society. It is precisely this decisive class factor that bourgeois sociologists either ignore completely or push to the background, concentrating on the formal constitutional principles.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “To the Population”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 297.

A political revolution does not by itself bring about a change in the social and class structure of society; this requires sweeping socio-economic transformations, which are implemented in the process of socialist construction. A revolution, however, the conquest of political power by the proletariat change radically the position of the existing classes, their place and role in society, particularly in the sphere of politics, which leads in turn to the emergence of new forms of class struggle. The political rule of the working class is expressed, above all, in the essence of the new power, the social composition of the organs of the socialist state. Ignoring these universal laws of the class struggle, of the revolution, the enemies of socialism deny the democratic character of the Soviet state, its "legality", alleging that a "handful of Bolsheviks" who had seized power banned representatives of other parties from participation in government.

Such arguments have been broadly used in the numerous anti-Soviet conceptions attempting to misrepresent the character of the new, proletarian state. Suffice it to recall Karl Kautsky,¹ discredited by Lenin for his apostasy and striving to evaluate the historical gains of the working class by the yardstick of "universal", "pure" democracy. The same methods are employed, in effect, by modern exponents of

¹ Karl Kautsky (1854-1938), one of the opportunist leaders of the German Social-Democracy and the 2nd International. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, he took a stand against the dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of "ideal", i.e., in effect, bourgeois democracy. Resorting to ignoble methods of slander, he sought to denigrate the democratic nature of the Soviet Republic. He alleged that since the Soviets were organisations of the working class alone they should not have taken state power into their own hands, because thereby they suppressed "ideal" democracy, democracy in general.

Kautsky's denial of the possibility and necessity of converting the Soviets into state institutions of the working class was the most glaring illustration of his renunciation of Marxism.

In his work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918) and other writings, Lenin laid bare the bourgeois essence of Kautsky's theory of "above-class state" and "pure" democracy.

bourgeois sociology seeking to falsify the history of the formation of the Soviet state and its social nature.

Without confining themselves to attacks on the principles of socialist democracy, bourgeois sociologists call in question the viability of the socialist state, interpreting the particular forms of socialist democracy as historical anomalies of their own kind, which have allegedly arisen off the main road of the development of civilisation, "West European" democracy or democracy of the "Anglo-Saxon" type. They falsify the history of the peoples by "investigations" of their national character. It is alleged, for example, that by virtue of its centuries-old inertness, the Russian people is in general incapable of independent political initiative, of government of the country.

And this is said and written about a people whose history abounds in almost incessant revolutionary rebellions of the peasant masses against serfdom and the tsarist autocracy, a country which became the centre of the international proletarian movement as far back as the late 19th century. This is written about the working class and all working people of Russia, who carried out three revolutions within a brief historical period and established the world's first socialist state, the people who have achieved by their selfless work remarkable successes in the building of socialism.

Needless to say, the working class cannot learn the necessary skills of state administration overnight.¹ They are acquired in the process of the class struggle, of building the socialist state. In the pamphlet "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution" Lenin wrote in April 1917, he compared the Soviets as a type of government to the Paris Commune in these words: "We are usually told that the Russian people are not yet prepared for the 'introduction' of the Commune. This was the argument of the serf-owners when they claimed that the peasants were not prepared for emancipation."¹ He underscored further: "The less the organisational

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 69.

experience of the Russian people, the more resolutely must we *proceed* to organisational development by the *people themselves*, and not merely by the bourgeois politicians and 'well-placed' bureaucrats."¹ Lenin urged the Party to follow boldly the path of the revolutionary initiative of the popular masses, "helping the people to organise Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies everywhere and immediately, and helping the latter to take life *in its entirety* under their control".² In this the Bolshevik Party saw the meaning of all its activities in the establishment and consolidation of Soviet power.

It is not accidental that the anti-communists are seeking to discredit precisely this general line of our Party in the field of state construction. Richard Löventhal, a West German publicist posing as an expert on the problems of communism, is going out of his way to oppose the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 to the Great October Socialist Revolution. He describes the former as an uncompleted democratic revolution against tsarism—the last among the great democratic revolutions in European history, and the October Revolution as the first among the totalitarian revolutions of the 20th century. Misinterpreting the social meaning and the historical character of the October Socialist Revolution, Löventhal labels the Soviet Republic an artificial and transient form of state, which could appear only in an economically and politically backward country, where the traditional democratic parliamentary institutions were non-existent.

Löventhal could not, of course, deny out of hand the universally known facts testifying to the popular and democratic character of the Soviets. He even concedes to the Soviets a certain form of awakening of the political activity of the masses, but immediately declares them uncharacteristic, "untypical" organs of the state. He alleges

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

that it was not the dictatorship of the proletariat but the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party that was then established in Russia.

As the result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Bolshevik Party really became the ruling party, the leader and guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party in its message "To All Party Members and All Working Classes of Russia" of November 7 (20), 1917 declared: "Therefore, the misleading statements to the effect that the Bolshevik government is *not* a Soviet government are a flagrant lie and can only come from the enemies of Soviet power. On the contrary, now, after the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, until the calling of the Third Congress, or until the re-election of the Soviets, or else until the formation of a new government by the Central Executive Committee, *only* a Bolshevik government can be recognised as the *Soviet* government."¹

The changes in the position of the classes in connection with the victory of the socialist revolution were reflected in the social composition of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets and in its sovereign will expressed in its approval of the composition of the Soviet government submitted by the Bolshevik Party. All these crucial political issues of the revolution were settled in the most democratic way. The toiling masses took part in the election of delegates to the congress, and they in turn supported the Bolshevik Party and its programme. Even before the composition of the government was submitted to the Congress of Soviets, prominent members of the Left-wing Socialist-Revolutionary faction had been invited to a meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and offered to take part in the new government. They refused this proposal. Exposing those who were clamouring about the obstinacy and intransigence of the Bolsheviks, their unwillingness to share power with an-

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions* . . . , Vol. 2, p. 17.

other party, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party strictly defined its position. In its statement of November 7 (20), 1917, it declared in particular: "We firmly adhere to the principle of Soviet government, i.e., government of the *majority* which formed at the latest Congress of Soviets, we agreed, as *we do now*, to share power with the minority of the Soviets on condition that this minority should pledge to obey the majority loyally and honestly and implement the programme *approved by the entire* All-Russia Congress of Soviets and consisting of gradual, but determined and steady steps towards socialism."¹

Thus, the Bolsheviks considered the possibility of including representatives of other parties in the government not from the angle of purely parliamentary manoeuvres characteristic of bourgeois democracy but on the principles of proletarian democracy expressing the will and interests of the working masses. The only condition was the demand that the representatives of another party should comply with the will of the majority, pursue the programme approved by the supreme organ of the new state power, "consisting of gradual but determined and steady steps towards socialism".²

Experience has demonstrated that it is impossible to ensure the political rule of the working class, to keep it in power without the abolition, the destruction of the old state machine and the organisation of a new, proletarian state apparatus. Lenin repeatedly emphasised that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a state notion, and its establishment and consolidation are inconceivable without the formation of a socialist state, which is the material foundation and support of the entire political organisation of the socialist type headed by the Communist Party.

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 19.

² *Ibid.* The Bolsheviks followed this principle in practice. As is known, later, representatives of other parties, who had pledged to comply with the will of Soviet power honestly and loyally, took part in the government as long as they lived up to their promise.

In the conditions of Soviet Russia the demolition of the old state machine was carried out in the most resolute and radical way within a brief historical period. It was accompanied by the formation of a qualitatively new, proletarian state apparatus in the centre and the provinces. These revolutionary processes had been completed in the main in the period between the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets (October 1917) and the beginning of 1918 and enforced in the first Constitution of the RSFSR¹ adopted by the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918.

Lenin linked the need to destroy the old state machine with the solution of the main political task—the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry as the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He wrote in this connection: “To *smash* this machine, to *break it up*, is truly in the interest of the ‘people’, of their majority, of the workers and most of the peasants, is ‘the precondition’ for a free alliance of the poor peasants and the proletarians, whereas without such an alliance democracy is unstable and socialist transformation is impossible.”²

The abolition of the old state machine is necessary, above all, because it is an instrument for oppression and suppression of the working people, an instrument that can be used by the bourgeoisie for opposing revolutionary actions of the working class, for nullifying the gains of the socialist revolution. Of no less importance is the fact that under the new socio-economic conditions this machine is unfit for coping with the tasks of construction. The socialist state apparatus is formed on new, truly democratic principles expressing the will and interests of the working class, of all working people, and conforming to the objective requirements, the general

¹ The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the first official name of Soviet Russia.—*Ed.*

² V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 417.

laws of building socialism. In the process of abolishing the old and creating new, proletarian statehood a fundamental change occurs in the consciousness of the working class itself, its faith in its ability to manage the affairs of society without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, as Lenin put it, is awakened and strengthened. The working people acquire skills in such management, and an alliance between the working class and the semi-proletarian masses, the toiling peasantry in the first place, is formed and consolidated. Without going through such a school of revolution, without defining its stand in relation to the new, socialist type of state, to the new law and order, without gaining experience in the administration of state, the working class cannot perform its leading role as the politically ruling class.

The destruction of the old state machine, of the entire capitalist political system is not, of course, tantamount to rejection of all the institutions and establishments formed in bourgeois society. Lenin referred to the possibility and even the necessity of taking advantage in the interests of the proletariat of the business management apparatus created by capitalism, such as the banks, syndicates, postal services, etc. "This apparatus must not, and should not, be smashed. It must be wrested from the control of the capitalists; the capitalists and the wires they pull must be *cut off, lopped off, chopped away from* this apparatus; it must be *subordinated* to the proletarian Soviets; it must be expanded, made more comprehensive, and nation-wide."¹ While sharing completely Marx's criticism of parliamentarism, Lenin visualised a solution to this problem not as the abolition of representative institutions and electiveness but as their conversion, after the example of the Paris Commune, from talking-shops into working institutions. "Representative institutions," he stressed, "remain, but there is *no* parliamentarism here as a special system, as the division of labour between

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 106.

the legislative and the executive, as a privileged position for the deputies.”¹ He said further: “We cannot imagine democracy, even parliamentary democracy, without representative institutions, but we can and *must* imagine democracy without parliamentarism. . . .”²

The experience of the Bolshevik Party as the architect of the proletarian state is definable not in the context of specific questions (as to which, for example, concrete institutions and establishments of the old society can be used), to which discussions on this subject are often reduced, but by the solution of the basic class and political problems of principle. History has confirmed the absolute necessity of the abolition of the old state machine, of bourgeois democracy, and its replacement by a system qualitatively new in its social content and principles of organisation: the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian democracy guided by the Communist Party. The socialist state and the mass public organisations of the working people are organic components of this new system.

It is precisely this fundamental conclusion of Marxism corroborated by the experience in building the socialist state in the Soviet Union that is opposed by the opportunists, social-reformists and revisionists. The authors of the Austrian Socialist Party programme, the latest in time, which has been accepted as a model by many European Social-Democratic parties, advocate the preservation of the integral political system of bourgeois society, which, in their opinion, can be transplanted into socialist society without essential changes.

They believe that even the slightest interference in the structure of the existing form of bourgeois democracy will be a violation of democracy. History, however, has demonstrated what the retention of bourgeois democracy and the

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 424.

² Ibid.

uncontrolled activity of a number of old state institutions may lead to by the developments in Chile. The coup d'état carried out there by a military junta in September 1973 plunged the country into a reign of terror. An appeal to the people from the Communist Party of Chile said in part: "The severe trials which have fallen to the lot of the Chileans will not be in vain. A number of institutions in which many had sincere faith have proved fully corrupt. Hardly anyone will think of supporting the existing judiciary system or parliament, which has buried itself by its involvement in the anti-government conspiracy."¹

What is most important in the experience of the Soviet Communists is that all the problems involved in the demolition of the old state machine and the building of the proletarian state were settled from class positions, in the interests of ensuring the leading role of the working class, of strengthening its alliance with the toiling peasantry. The broad masses of working people were drawn into the efforts to establish and develop the socialist state apparatus, into its practical day-to-day activities. All the problems involved in the use and adaptation of old establishments and institutions to the tasks of building socialism were handled with a view to the actual alignment of class forces, to the situation in the country.

This is illustrated by the experience of using the electoral system for the purpose of forming new representative bodies of state power—the Soviets. While adapting the electoral institution to the interests of the working class, the Soviet government instituted certain restrictions on universal suffrage by disfranchising the bourgeoisie and other strata of the dislodged exploiting classes. The Bolsheviks were immediately accused by their enemies of having infringed upon universal suffrage, of seeking to abolish it and to liquidate "democracy for all".

Lenin wrote in this connection that the "... question of

¹ *New Times*, No. 44, 1973.

depriving the exploiters of the franchise is a *purely Russian* question, and not a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in general."¹ He noted further that "the Bolsheviks, who long before October put forward the slogan of proletarian dictatorship, did not say anything in advance about disfranchising the exploiters. *This* aspect of the dictatorship did not make appearance 'according to the plan' of any particular party; it *emerged* of itself in the course of the struggle."²

Especially interesting in this case is Lenin's analysis of the correlation between what is general and what is nationally distinctive in a revolution, the very approach to the solution of this problem. Speaking in general, the correlation between negation and continuity in the practices of state construction cannot be identical either under different historical conditions or in relation to individual structural elements of the old state machine and bourgeois democracy. This correlation is determined by both objective and subjective factors. The decisive role here is played by the alignment of class forces on the home scene during the revolution and the building of proletarian statehood. Very much depends on how effective have been the efforts of the working class and its party to renew to a definite extent the existing bourgeois democratic institutions and establishments, to set up and strengthen new, democratic organisations of a proletarian character. The availability of these prerequisites enables broader use to be made of some of the former institutions and establishments in the process of building socialist statehood. The incorporation of such institutions into the new state system, however, is not mechanical in character. They are restructured on the democratic principles of proletarian statehood, and are adapted thereby to the interests of the vast majority of society, of the toiling masses, acquiring a new social content, and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 255.

² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

hence begin to perform functions issuing from the class essence of the socialist state.

The working class creates a new state for the purpose of building socialism. Engels wrote: "Democracy would be quite useless to the proletariat if it were not immediately utilised as a means of accomplishing further measures directly attacking private ownership and securing the existence of the proletariat."¹ This statement brilliantly expresses the Marxist understanding of the social nature of proletarian democracy and its destination.

The socialist state which emerged in Russia in the form of a Soviet Republic was from its inception used by the working class as a powerful weapon for defending the gains of the October Revolution, for accomplishing the economic and socio-political tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The adoption in the early months of Soviet power of the decrees on the confiscation of all landed estates, the nationalisation of the banks, the institution of workers' control, the monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalisation of large-scale industry and the railways set the stage for uprooting capitalist relations and laying the economic foundation of the new social system.

In addition to coping with the first-priority tasks in the economic field, equally important revolutionary measures were implemented by the Soviet government in other spheres of social life. For example, the Decree on Land undermined the roots of the estate division of society, since the private ownership of land was a survival of serfdom in Russia, and the basis for the class privileges of the landlords, the nobility, and the clergy. This was followed by the annulment of the legislative basis for estate division of society.²

¹ Frederick Engels, "Principles of Communism". In: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 90.

² The decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee *On the Abolition of the Estates and Civil Ranks* published on November 12 (25), 1917, abolished all estate privileges and restrictions, estate or-

"The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on November 2, 1917, was, in effect, of constitutional importance and aimed at liquidating the regime of national oppression and, along with other Soviet government decrees which dealt with national relations, testified to the full determination of the Soviet state to implement consistently a policy that guaranteed the legal and actual equality of all the peoples of Russia.

Women were emancipated,¹ the church was disestablished, and the school² was separated from the church, and other social measures were implemented in fields of vital importance to the working people: labour relations, housing conditions, etc.³

Unquestionably, some measures of the Soviet government in the economic and socio-political fields were motivated by the specific historical conditions prevailing in Russia, the

ganisations and institutions, civil ranks and titles, and established the status of citizen of the Soviet Republic for the entire population.

¹ The Soviet government repealed the tsarist laws which deprived women of civil rights. For example, on December 18 (31), 1917, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars passed the decrees *On Divorce* and *On Civil Marriage*, on childcare, *On the Institution of Civil Status Registers*, which completely abolished women's legal inequality in family and household relations. Women's political equality was established by the electoral law, and labour legislation granted them equal rights with men in the field of labour relations.

² The decree of the Council of People's Commissars of January 20 (February 2), 1918 *On the Disestablishment of the Church and the Separation of the School from the Church* put an end to the privileged position of the church and to all its influence on tuition.

³ The decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of October 29, 1917, introduced an eight-hour working day throughout the country, strictly limited overtime work, instituted a special system of labour protection of women and persons under age. The Soviet government nationalised large property in housing and placed it under the management of the local Soviets. Mass-scale resettlement of workers from basement dwellings and slums to apartments formerly owned by the bourgeoisie was undertaken immediately.

grim heritage of tsarism. Among such measures were the abolition of the estate division of society, the eradication of illiteracy of a large proportion of the population, etc. The majority of sweeping socio-economic reforms, however, were required by the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. These were, above all, the nationalisation of industry, the seizure of key positions in the leading sectors of the economy, although these measures were often carried out in specific ways and means attributable to the specific features of Russia's development. Far from contradicting the Marxist theory of proletarian state, however, this, on the contrary, corroborated it. It will be recalled that the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* outlines the system of revolutionary measures that should be implemented immediately after the conquest of political power by the proletariat. In the foreword to the German edition of 1872, however, Marx and Engels made a reservation to the effect that some of them had to be corrected because they had largely fallen out of date "...in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February Revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune. . .".¹

Marx and Engels underscored the need to implement during the future proletarian revolution sweeping revolutionary transformations, without which the liberation of the proletariat was inconceivable. It was a question, in the first place, of using the political rule of the proletariat "...to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."²

Consequently, the question of concentrating the basic means of production in the hands of the proletarian state, of

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party". In: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

the tasks and objectives of this revolutionary measure was first settled by Marxism theoretically, and it was under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party that this crucial issue of social revolution was resolved practically.

After the conquest and consolidation of Soviet power the working class and its Party could embark on further socialist transformations in the economic field. In his works "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", "Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work", in a number of speeches made in the spring of 1918, Lenin substantiated scientifically a concrete plan of laying the foundation of the socialist economy. Its implementation, however, was handicapped by the Civil War unleashed by the internal counter-revolutionaries and the foreign intervention. Defence of the gains of the October Revolution became a first-priority function of the Party and the Soviet state. All the forces of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bulk of the manpower and material resources were mobilised for defence, for the cause of defeating the internal and external counter-revolutionaries.

Russia's proletariat and its Party were guided by the following statement of Lenin's: "No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself."¹ Lenin raised the question of defending the revolution on a broad plane, from working-class positions, pointing out that the revolution would be invincible only when the proletariat, the multimillioned masses of working people realised from their own experience the need for a new, conscious discipline, for forming a strictly disciplined army, a reliable shield in the struggle against the attempts of the enemies at home and abroad to restore the domination of the reactionary forces. The bourgeoisie deprived of power will make such attempts whenever an opportunity presents itself.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Report at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, Factory Committees and Trade Unions, October 22, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 124.

The entire development of the world revolutionary process, particularly the people's democratic and the national liberation, anti-imperialist revolutions in the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America have confirmed the validity and correctness of Lenin's conclusion on the need to defend the revolution against encroachments from the internal and external counter-revolutionaries. The military coup in Chile in September 1973 was another reminder of the need to set up the armed forces of the revolution and to safeguard its achievements vigilantly. The Communist Party of Chile declared in a message to the people of Chile: "After what has happened the people of Chile are entitled to set themselves the aim of forming the armed forces and the police force of a new type or at least of expelling fascist elements from the army, the police and the investigation agencies to rule out a recurrence of the tragedy being experienced by our people at present."

The revolutionary transformations carried out by the Bolshevik Party in the early months of Soviet power were of tremendous importance for the victory over the deposed exploiting classes and the foreign interventionists in the Civil War, as well as for continued socialist construction.

The mobilisation of resources and forces for defeating the enemy, measures in the political, economic and the military field proper were effected by methods ensuing from the qualitatively new social nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They were linked, in the final analysis, with the advantages of the new social system, which were already becoming manifest. The abolition of private ownership of the basic means of production, their concentration in the hands of the Soviet state, the seizure by it of the commanding heights in industry made possible the rapid mobilisation of the resources available and their regearing to the needs of war.

By their sweeping reforms of agrarian relations, their policies in the social field and on the national question the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government won the

sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the working population, and attracted to their side the formerly oppressed peoples of Russia.

Soviet power received immense support from the European and American working class, which testified to the proletarian internationalism of the working class and the international prestige of the world's first socialist state.

During the Civil War, notwithstanding the unprecedented hardships of that period, the Party went ahead with its work in state construction. It was precisely at that time that the armed forces of the Soviet state—the Red Army closely linked with the people—were formed and strengthened. The system of Soviets continued to be improved in the centre and the provinces.

Despite the mortal danger, which arose in the course of the Civil War, to the very existence of Soviet power the Party broadly used democratic methods, seeking to involve the masses increasingly in the administration of the Soviet state, in the efforts to solve the tasks of the war period. Between November 1917 and 1920, All-Russia Congresses of Soviets were called on seven occasions. Between November 1917 and mid-1921, according to incomplete data for some 50 per cent of the provincial and 40 per cent of the district Soviets, over 27,000 delegates took part in the sessions of 183 provincial congresses of Soviets, and 190,077 delegates attended the meetings of 1,138 district congresses.¹ All this gave Lenin ample reason to declare that "in a time as difficult as war-time, when the century-old European constitutions that have become a matter of habit for the West-European people have been almost completely suspended, the Soviet Constitution is in force in the localities to a greater degree than a constitution anywhere else in the world insofar as concerns the participation of the masses in government

¹ Provinces and districts were units of the country's territorial-administrative division in that period.

and in the independent solution of government matters at congresses, in the Soviets and elections".¹

The extremely complicated situation in the early years of Soviet power demanded centralisation, harsh discipline. Even in that period, however, all the key problems of building a new life were decided at Party conferences and congresses, were submitted for broad discussion to the Communists, to all working people. Suffice it to recall that between 1917 and 1921 four Party congresses and four All-Russia Party conferences took place, plenary meetings and conferences of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party were held regularly and Party conferences and meetings of Communists were called in the provinces. At Party forums many urgent problems of state construction, the activities of the Soviets, trade unions and other public organisations, of the ideological and political education of the working people were raised and settled.

Overcoming great difficulties in state construction the Party tackled from scientific, class positions the practical tasks which were crucial to the destinies of the country, the gains of the socialist revolution, the existence of the Soviet state. Lenin's books and articles, reports and speeches were of inestimable importance for state construction, for the further development and consolidation of the Soviet state.

The most complete theoretical generalisation of the experience in building the world's first socialist state is contained in the Programme of the Bolshevik Party drawn up under Lenin's guidance and with his most active participation and adopted by the 8th Party Congress in 1919.

The Party Programme explained and specified the notion of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its tasks and class character, the cardinal difference between bourgeois and proletarian democracy, between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the Soviet Republic. The Programme

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 236.

emphasised the role of the Soviets as truly mass organisations of the working classes making up the permanent and sole foundation of the entire state apparatus, both local and central, from top to bottom. "It was exclusively due to the Soviet organisation of state," the Programme of the Bolshevik Party indicated, "that the revolution of the proletariat could immediately smash and raze to the ground the old bourgeois bureaucratic and judiciary state machine."¹ The urban industrial proletariat as the most united, the best educated and steeled in struggle played the leading part in the October Revolution, in setting up the Soviets and in converting them into the plenipotentiary organs of state power. In this connection, it was granted certain advantages during elections to the Soviets.² The Party Programme, however, pointed out the temporary character of the restrictions on suffrage which were motivated by the specific historical conditions and the alignment of class forces at the given stage of society's development.

The Programme of the Bolshevik Party not only summed up the experience in state construction but also outlined measures for the further consolidation of the Soviet social and state system. The tasks of securing an all-round development of the productive forces, of integrating to a maximum of all economic activities under a national plan, of centralising production to the utmost, of ensuring co-ordinated operation of the entire production apparatus and rational and economical utilisation of the country's material resources

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 44.

² The 1918 Constitution of the RSFSR laid down the following quotas of representation at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets: from the city and town Soviets—one deputy per 25,000 voters, from the provincial congresses of Soviets—one deputy per 125,000 voters. Definite privileges for workers were established in the election of delegates to provincial and district congresses of Soviets.

Significantly, even with the above-mentioned representation quotas the toiling peasantry, which accounted for the majority of the country's population, sent a large number of delegates to the congresses of Soviets.

were advanced as the main guidelines of the economic policy of the Soviet state.

The Party pointed out the need to develop Soviet democracy, to overcome red tape in the state apparatus, to strengthen its ties with the masses. The Party's task, it was underscored in the Programme, was to bring the democratic rights and freedoms within reach of ever broader sections of the working population and increase the material possibilities for this.¹ Speaking at the 8th Party Congress, Lenin said that in Soviet Russia obstacles of an objective rather than formal, legal character stood in the way of involving the broad popular masses in the management of the affairs of state. He said in this context: "The best of the bourgeois republics, no matter how democratic they may be, have thousands of legal hindrances which prevent the working people from participation in the work of government. What we have done, was to remove these hindrances, but so far we have not reached the stage at which the working people could participate in government. Apart from the law, there is still the level of culture, which you cannot subject to any law. The result of this low cultural level is that the Soviets, which by virtue of their programme are organs of government *by the working people*, are in fact organs of government *for the working people* by the advanced section of the proletariat, but not by the working people as a whole."² Lenin linked the possibility of increasingly broader involvement of the working people in the direct management of the affairs of the Soviet state with an advancement of culture and education in the country.

The 8th Party Congress clearly defined the principles of relationships between the Party and the Soviets, advanced the task for the Party to win decisive influence in the trade unions, co-operatives, village communes, and other organisations of the working people.

¹ See *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 43.

² V. I. Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183.

The congress indicated the need for enhancing in every way Party leadership of the Soviets, constant control by the Party over all their activities. "The functions of the Party collectives," the congress said in a resolution, "should by no means be confused with the functions of government bodies, i.e., the Soviets. . . . The Party must implement its decisions through the Soviet organs, *within the framework of the Soviet Constitution*. The Party seeks to *guide* the activities of the Soviets, not to substitute for them."¹ The congress also determined on the concrete forms of exercising the leading role of the Party in the Soviets: the formation within them of Party groups strictly subordinated to Party discipline, the promotion of competent and loyal Party members to posts in the Soviets.

In formulating the principles of the Party's political guidance of state and public organisations, the congress proceeded from the idea underlying Lenin's teaching on the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party unites, fuses its component parts into an organic whole, directs the efforts of all government and public organisations towards the achievement of the common objectives of the working class, of all working people. The successful implementation of the Party's policy is crucial to the fulfilment of the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the destinies of the socialist state, to the development and consolidation of the socialist system and, in the final analysis, to the victory of socialism and communism. The Party's ideological, political and organisational influence on all the aspects of the activities of state and public organisations makes the basis for the development of socialist democracy in general. Lenin repeatedly stressed that the proletarian state apparatus must be subordinated to politics. Speaking at the 10th Party Congress, he said: "All efforts must, therefore, be turned to achieving our aim: the complete subordination of the apparatus to politics. Politics are relations between classes, and

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions*. . . , Vol. 2, p. 77.

that will decide the fate of our Republic. The stronger the apparatus, as an auxiliary, the better and more suitable it is for manoeuvring. If it cannot manoeuvre, it is of no use to us."¹

Following the course charted by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party invariably fought against overt and covert enemies of Soviet power who attempted to undermine, weaken the leading role of the Party, to insulate the Soviets, the state apparatus or individual public organisations from its political influence. It exposed the counter-revolutionary essence of the slogan "For Soviets without Communists" advanced by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, was irreconcilable to those who opposed the leading role of the Party in the Soviets, demonstrated the counter-revolutionary character of the efforts to oppose the Soviets and the trade unions to the Party, etc.

The proletarian state apparatus very quickly demonstrated its superiority to the state machine of the old exploiting type. Even in the early years of Soviet power it manifested its democratic features and properties of which Lenin wrote that "compared with the bourgeois parliamentary system, this is an advance in democracy's development which is of world-wide, historic significance."²

It was extremely difficult to build the new Soviet state apparatus. Efforts to overcome the cumbersomeness of individual elements of the apparatus, to achieve their well co-ordinated work were not immediately successful. Experience in administration was inadequate and there was a shortage of skilled personnel from among the workers and peasants. A sizeable proportion of the staffs of government agencies consisted of former officials who introduced the former bureaucratic methods and traditions into the apparatus' work

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 228.

² V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 104.

and often deliberately caused harm to Soviet power. Many activists of the Soviets, who had accumulated definite experience in political organisation, went to the frontlines during the Civil War.

The main thing in that situation was to preserve, develop and use the major elements of the Soviet system in order to consolidate and improve the state apparatus. In his work "Better Fewer, But Better" Lenin wrote: "First, the workers who are absorbed in the struggle for socialism. These elements are not sufficiently educated. They would like to build a better apparatus for us, but they do not know how. They cannot build one. They have not yet developed the culture required for this; and it is culture that is required. . . . Secondly, we have elements of knowledge, education and training, but they are ridiculously inadequate compared with all other countries."¹ From this he inferred the necessity to bring together the best elements of the Soviet social system, to develop and mobilise them to a struggle for the renewal of the state apparatus. He deemed the accomplishment of this task to be contingent on the implementation of a cultural revolution in the country.

In his last articles and letters, finalising his plan of building socialism in the country, Lenin again devoted special attention to the problems of Party leadership of the state, to substantiating its role and significance as a powerful instrument for building the new society. He pointed out that it was called upon to play a decisive role in building up and developing large-scale industry, the economic basis for socialism. Mapping out the ways of remaking the countryside along socialist lines, of developing co-operation in agriculture, he linked the accomplishment of this task, the most formidable one since the conquest of power, with the efforts to strengthen the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this connection he wrote as follows: "Indeed, since political power is in the hands of the working class, since this political

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 488.

power owns all the means of production, the only task, indeed, that remains for us is to organise the population in co-operative societies.”¹

In his letter on “Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission” Lenin outlined important measures to enhance state planned direction of socialist construction, to introduce the planning principle in all the sectors of the national economy. In his article “The Question of Nationalities or ‘Autonomisation’” Lenin advanced the task of abolishing the actual inequality of nations, of further strengthening the friendship among peoples, of developing the Soviet multinational state, of perfecting state organisation.

Lenin’s last articles and letters may be described as his political testament to the Party. They set the guidelines for all its activities in the continued development and consolidation of the Soviet state.

In the conditions of the New Economic Policy the Party started remodelling all the elements of the state apparatus with a view to improving its structure, developing the principle of democratic centralism, enhancing the role of the Soviets and other public organisations of working people. The Party resolutely denounced the position of the Trotskyites, who demanded a hard line in relation to the trade unions, the Soviets and other democratic organisations. Simultaneously, the Party exposed and denounced the platform of the “Workers’ Opposition” group, whose followers demanded a renunciation by the Party of its leadership of the Soviets, the trade unions and handover of the management of the national economy to the so-called All-Russia Congress of Producers.

The Party followed the Leninist path of democratising state administration. It involved the broadest sections of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, “On Co-operation”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 467.

working people and their organisations in the cause of rehabilitating the national economy, leaning on the Soviets, first and foremost.

The objectives of the Party policy towards the Soviets were to overcome excessive centralisation in state administration dictated by the conditions of the Civil War, to develop further Soviet democracy in town and country, to involve broad sections of the working class and the toiling peasantry in the direct management of the affairs of state by means of stimulating the activities of the Soviets and all mass public organisations of working people. The Party displayed concern for strengthening the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry.

While tackling the fundamental problems involved in implementing Lenin's plan of building socialism in the Soviet Union the Party invariably paid close attention to state construction, to enhancing the role of the Soviet state in the life of society, to strengthening its ties with the masses. Thus, the 14th Party Congress in 1925, which set the task of socialist industrialisation of the country, leaned on the increased political activity of the working masses and their organisations, the Soviets, the trade unions and the co-operatives. It worked out, in particular, a programme of selecting workers and peasants for appointment in the state apparatus, of stepping up the struggle against red tape.¹

¹ While pursuing the line of promoting workers and peasants to government posts, the Party took steps to advance their political education, widening the network of communist higher schools.

Nominees were also provided with facilities for raising their qualifications and general educational standards. The Central Executive Committee and the USSR Council of People's Commissars passed a decision to set up institutions for the education of workers on a part-time basis. Their principal types were: advanced training courses, workers' higher technical night schools for training engineers and communist managers, re-training courses for personnel of various specialities, correspondence courses under higher and secondary technical schools. In 1927 industrial academies began to be set up, and their network was considerably widened in 1932.

"The building of socialism in our country," the 14th Congress of the Bolshevik Party emphasised in its resolution, "has faced the Party and the state at the end of the rehabilitation period with the task of ensuring such leadership of the state and economic apparatus that would guarantee the fastest possible development of productive forces and the transfer of industry and agriculture onto a new technological basis. In addition to measures of economic regulation, the Party and the state must be at the head and assume leadership of the technical and organisational rationalisation of the state and economic apparatus in order to achieve this goal and step up the development rates to a maximum."¹ All the creative forces of the working class, Party functionaries, government officials and economic executives, primarily members of the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, were involved in the efforts to accomplish the tasks of rationalising administration and management. The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the Central Control Commission, set up on Lenin's initiative, were amalgamated at the 12th Party Congress into one body abbreviated CCC-WPI. It played an exceptionally important role in organising effective supervision of the operation of the state apparatus. This supervisory body based its activities on a broad involvement of workers and peasants, of Communists and non-Party activists. The CCC-WPI helped in the selection and appointment of personnel, checked upon the timely and accurate fulfilment of Party and government decisions by government bodies, improvement in management methods, registration and accounting and waged a determined fight against red tape, procrastination, violations of socialist legality.

In 1928, the Party Central Committee appealed to all Party members, all workers to further develop self-criticism, Soviet democracy, to enhance control over the operation of the entire state apparatus. The appeal issued under the title

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 3, pp. 255-56.

"On Self-Criticism" said in particular: "The Central Committee declares that the *tasks of the reconstruction period cannot be accomplished without the boldest, most determined and most consistent involvement of the masses in the cause of socialist construction, without supervision and control on the part of these multimillioned masses of the entire apparatus, without purging it of worthless elements.*"¹ The Party advanced the slogan of self-criticism as one of the main slogans of the time. The Party Central Committee appealed for an improvement in the work of production conferences, for promotion of workers to government and economic posts, improvement of the structure of the state apparatus and bringing it into line with the requirements of the grown socialist economy. Seeking to improve the performance of the Soviet state apparatus and the working people's public organisations, the Party opposed high-handed actions and petty tutelage on the part of Party organisations.

The country's new administrative-territorial division introduced on the initiative and under the guidance of the Party was of immense importance for improving the operation of the Soviet state apparatus, its local ramifications in particular, for strengthening its ties with the masses. The new division into districts was carried out gradually, on a strictly scientific basis, with due account being taken of the distribution of productive forces and changes in the structure of the national economy. In addition to simplifying the structure and cutting the expenses of the Soviet apparatus, this measure served to strengthen and develop the government bodies closest to the masses.

Assisted by the Soviet state and working people's public organisations, the Party tackled the most complicated tasks of remaking society on socialist lines. The country's socialist industrialisation and co-operation in agriculture, the defeat of the resistance of the kulaks² followed by all-round

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions*. . . , Vol. 4, p. 95.

² The kulaks were the most well-to-do, rich peasants who exploited wage labour or lent money at interest, etc.

collectivisation widened the social basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working people became increasingly involved in the administration of state. The Party pressed for an active participation of working people in the election of the representative bodies of the Soviet state, in the day-to-day activities of the Soviets, their sections and commissions, in exercising control over the state apparatus.¹

All the activities of the Party in the guidance of the Soviet state, in developing the system of the Soviets, in enhancing the role of state and public organisations of the working people in socialist construction were carried out in a situation of bitter struggle against the anti-Leninist factions. History has confirmed that the Leninist policy of the CPSU towards the Soviets, directed, as it was, to increasing their role in the life of society contributed to the accomplishment of the tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, to the victory of socialism.



2. EMULATION OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU AS THE ARCHITECT OF THE SOCIALIST STATE BY COMMUNISTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The emergence of the People's Democracies in a number of countries of Eastern Europe and South-East Asia (Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Korea, Vietnam, etc.) as states of the socialist type was a brilliant corroboration of Lenin's prevision to the effect that the "transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms,

¹ The increase in the working people's political activity was evidenced, in particular, by statistics on their participation in the elections to the Soviets. For example, in 1923, only 38.5 per cent of the voters went to the polls, whereas in 1925 the percentage rose to 48.7, in 1928-1929, to 70.8, and in 1934-1935, to 91.6 per cent.

but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*".¹

The people's democratic republic is a historically new political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat expressing both the general principles of proletarian statehood and the specific features of their manifestation under different historical conditions. The general principles of the structure and activities of the people's democratic state, just as of the Soviet state, issue from the very nature and democratic essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The specific character of the people's democratic state and its political form is linked, above all, with the historical and national distinctions of the countries of people's democracy, with the alignment of class forces within them, with the experience accumulated by the working class and the fraternal parties in all the stages of the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. Some typical features of the people's democratic state were largely conditioned by the new balance of strength between socialism and capitalism on the international scene.

The people's democratic revolution began and developed in a situation where the world capitalist system no longer held absolute sway and the powerful Soviet socialist state existed. State construction in the people's democracies was carried out in a more favourable situation than in the Soviet Union. In the overwhelming majority of People's Democracies the internal and external counter-revolutionary forces did not dare to start a civil war or organise direct military intervention.² The Communist and Workers' parties in these

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 413.

² With the exception of Vietnam and Korea. After the establishment of the people's democratic system, the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people were compelled to wage a heroic resistance struggle for their country's liberation from the French colonialists and later from US imperialism. The just struggle of the Vietnamese people culminated in their complete victory in 1973. The

countries, with the assistance and support of the Soviet Union, were able to emulate the experience in state construction tested in the course of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The Communist and Workers' parties had before them the vivid example of the emergence and development of the Soviet socialist state, the experience of the CPSU in using the advantages of the new social and state system, in overcoming the difficulties and contradictions of the development of the political and economic system in the conditions of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The possibility and necessity of emulation of this experience in the People's Democracies ensued from the essence of proletarian internationalism, from the common goals and tasks facing the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. As demonstrated by history, this experience has contributed tremendously to the formation and development of the people's democratic states. The practices of state construction in the People's Democracies have confirmed the international, world-wide historic significance of the general democratic principles of socialist statehood and of the experience of the CPSU.

On the basis of using the organs and institutions of the Fatherland (National) Front, by gradually breaking down the old state machine, the people's democratic republic took shape as a new historical form of people's power.

Of fairly great importance to this process was the routing by the Soviet Army in the Second World War of the military machine of nazi Germany and militarist Japan, and of the military-bureaucratic apparatus in the countries allied with nazi Germany. This circumstance largely contributed to the process of the growing over of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution which took mostly peaceful forms.

peaceful development of the people's democratic revolution in Korea was disrupted by the war unleashed by US imperialism, in which the people emerged victorious.

The demolition of the old state machine and the establishment of new statehood in the majority of People's Democracies began in the initial stage of the revolution. The popular masses led by the Communist and Workers' parties, while destroying with utmost determination the fascist, semi-fascist and military-bureaucratic institutions, preserved at the same time a number of democratic establishments and institutions of a parliamentary type. In some countries, the supreme bodies of state, including the elected bodies and governments, were still dominated by representatives of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, and in certain countries even the monarchy survived. This accounted for the distinctive features of the initial period of state construction in the people's democracies. At the same time, as was the case, for instance, in Rumania, the popular masses stormed and seized the offices of municipal institutions and appointed their representatives to direct them. The working people gradually took over direction of the supreme organs of power and central government, while their structure was revised and the content of their activities changed radically.

The gradual breaking down of the old state machine, the use of establishments and institutions of a parliamentary type in the process of creating people's democratic statehood did not mean a revision of the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the need to demolish the old apparatus as the precondition for establishing new statehood. It was only a question of the forms, methods, and periods of time for accomplishing this task. Even in East Germany, where the nazi military and central state apparatus completely disintegrated under the blows of the Soviet Army, the formation of new statehood occurred under difficult and complicated conditions. "...There was a real danger of restoration of imperialist state power," said Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "because numerous government and economic institutions of the former regime still existed in the lands, districts, and communities. It was necessary to

abolish them and to dislodge the old forces from their posts.

"Therefore, it was mandatory, in direct connection with the liberation from nazism, to settle the question of government as early as possible, with full determination, and in favour of the working class and the whole people, by setting up new bodies of the democratic system staffed with time-tested and reliable anti-fascists."

In the initial stage of the revolution, people's democratic power was, in its class essence, a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. This was of crucial importance for consolidating the victory of this revolution, for creating the necessary prerequisites for its growing over into a socialist revolution.

People's democratic government, the working classes led by the Communists not only gave a rebuff to the internal and external counter-revolutionary forces, but, already in the general democratic stage of the revolution, embarked on the abolition of private capitalist ownership. This implied the expropriation of German and Japanese capital in the People's Democracies, as well as the property of the comprador national bourgeoisie, which had collaborated with nazi Germany, particularly in the countries which had fought in the war on its side.

The Communists struggled for the continued consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, for winning over all progressive strata of society to the side of people's government, neutralising the influence of that section of the national bourgeoisie which attempted to exploit the gains of the people's democratic revolution for their class objectives. The general democratic and the socialist revolutions in the People's Democracies were carried out mostly by peaceful means. This, however, was the culminating point of the class struggle, which led to the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class, the formation of a state of a qualitatively new, socialist type.

In all the stages of the revolutionary movement, the working class, the Communists in these countries had the assis-

tance and support of the Soviet socialist state, the moral support of the international working class.

The victory of the socialist revolution in the People's Democracies also ushered in a new stage in the field of state construction.

The political system in these countries was based on the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry, with the working class led by the Marxist-Leninist Party in the vanguard. The central task facing the people's democratic state was to secure the conditions and realistic possibilities for involving all sections of the working people in the administration of state, for their active participation in socialist construction.

With a view to these objectives broad political rights and freedoms were proclaimed for all citizens and real guarantees were provided for their material security. It is known that in the overwhelming majority of the People's Democracies no restrictions on universal and equal suffrage were enacted from the very outset; the national bourgeoisie was not deprived of voting rights in the majority of countries either.¹ This has again confirmed Lenin's idea that disfranchising the overthrown exploiting classes is not an essential principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat but merely a forced measure applied under specific historical conditions and is completely dependent on the alignment of class forces in a given country.

Universal, equal and direct suffrage and secret ballot made it possible immediately to draw broad social strata

¹ In Hungary, disfranchisement was applied to the enemies of the working people, and in Rumania the law on elections to the local government bodies (September 1950) withdrew voting rights from the former landlords, bankers, big industrialists and merchants. In all the People's Democracies before the adoption of the new Constitutions persons who had collaborated with the occupationists and war criminals were deprived of the vote.

Later all restrictions on suffrage were repealed.

into the formation and activities of the people's democratic state.

The tasks of socialist construction required consolidation of the political forces, further promotion of the unity and cohesion of the working class. For this purpose in a number of People's Democracies the Communist and Social-Democratic parties merged on the platform of Marxism-Leninism. Other parties of the Fatherland Front, which had co-operated with the Communists already in the period of preparing and implementing the people's democratic revolution, actively joined in socialist construction.

The question of the multi-party system in the People's Democracies was settled with a view to the chief factor—the actual alignment of class forces and the positions held by the political parties. In Hungary, for example, a multi-party system had existed in the initial stage of building socialism. Later, however, as a result of the abortive counter-revolutionary coup in 1956, the other political parties quit the social scene. The leader of the Hungarian Communists, Janos Kadar, said on this score: "For people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat the leading role of the working-class party is a question of principle, a general law. The question of a one-party or multi-party system is not a corollary of the general law, but is a practical political issue, which should be settled in accordance with the political and social conditions prevailing in a given country. During the counter-revolutionary rebellion it became clear that in our conditions the multi-party system played into the hands of the counter-revolution, therefore, we have discarded it."¹

In the majority of People's Democracies a different situation developed. There it was possible to organise within the framework of the united Fatherland (National) Front co-operation with other parties in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

¹ *The 7th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1960, pp. 23-24 (in Russian).

Thus, the recognition and ensuring of the leading and guiding role of the Communist and Workers' parties is a general law of socialist construction issuing from the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the key principle of building the entire political system of the socialist type. The expediency of a multi-party or one-party system is a question whose settlement is completely dependent on the concrete historical situation in a given country. Therefore, a multi-party system is not an indispensable attribute of a people's democratic state. It is not characteristic of statehood as such but of the political system of society in these countries.

The Fatherland (National) Front does not directly belong to the state system either. It is a mass political organisation taking part (in accordance with the Constitution) in forming the representative bodies of the state and in their practical activities.

Following the formation of the supreme representative organs of state power (and in some People's Democracies simultaneously with this process) a new system of local administration was set up. In the people's democratic stage of the revolution, the political parties and other public organisations affiliated with the Fatherland (National) Front delegated their representatives to the central and local bodies of government or the Fatherland Front, whose agencies performed the functions of local administration in certain countries during that stage and besides, in the early period of setting up provisional local government bodies, their staffs were not elected, as a rule, but appointed by central authority.

In the period 1949-1950, i.e., after the socialist revolution, elections to the local government bodies in accordance with the new Constitutions or other constitutional acts were held in the majority of People's Democracies. At that time, a uniform nationwide system of government bodies based on general democratic principles, from top to bottom, took shape and consolidated gradually.

Just as in the Soviet Union, this enabled the broadest masses of working people to be attracted to the management of the affairs of state on the principle of democratic centralism. However, the structure of the bodies of government and administration, their terms of reference, the procedure of electing and recalling deputies, etc., have specific qualities and features of their own, which are characteristic of the people's democratic republic as a type of organisation in general (in contrast to the Soviet Republic) and its varieties in individual countries. These qualities and features of concrete people's democratic republics are expressed in the structure and procedure of formation of individual government bodies; in the range of powers and the character of relations between government bodies; in the internal state system (forms of autonomy and administrative-territorial division); in the legal status of deputies, forms of their links with the electorate; the procedure of drawing up and passing new legislation.

Following the Soviet example, the majority of People's Democracies revised their administrative-territorial division. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, the old division into lands was replaced in 1948 by a division into regions, districts or areas, and communities. In 1960, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a new law on the territorial division was promulgated, under which the country's regions and districts were combined into larger units. In 1949, amendments were introduced into the administrative-territorial division in Bulgaria; in 1950 a new administrative-territorial division was enacted in Rumania; in 1952 the old administrative division into lands was abolished and districts were established in the GDR, which was followed by the dissolution of the governments of the lands and their representation in the supreme organs of power. This brought the bodies of people's democratic government closer to the population, conformed to the interests of economic and cultural development, contributed to the further consolidation of socialist statehood.

The establishment of the system of government bodies based on democratic principles, from top to bottom, the adjustment of their interaction with the public organisations of working people both directly and through the Fatherland (National) Front made it possible to incorporate into the political system the former and newly-emerged democratic institutions and establishments.

Emulation of the experience of the CPSU enabled the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties to speed up the process of developing people's democratic statehood and use it as an instrument for implementing socialist transformations in the economy.

In the European People's Democracies the rehabilitation of the national economy was accomplished by carrying out two- or three-year economic plans. After the growing over of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, five-year economic development plans designed to build the economic basis for socialism were drawn up and made law. The use of Soviet experience in long-term planning and of methods of socialist economic management, which became feasible after completing the nationalisation of the basic means of production, ensured a rapid advance of the economy in the People's Democracies, a change in the structure of industrial and agricultural production. On this basis a considerable rise in the material well-being of the popular masses was achieved. The development of co-operation with the Soviet Union, fraternal mutual assistance within the world socialist community gave a powerful impetus to economic growth in socialist states.

Over a relatively short period, in the GDR, for example, industrial production had increased 320 per cent by 1965 as compared with the pre-war level, and 290 per cent as compared with 1950; in Poland, 1,010 and 410 per cent respectively; in Hungary, 510 and 290 per cent; in Bulgaria, 2,000 and 590 per cent; in Czechoslovakia, 420 and 260 per cent; in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, 1,370 and 1,300 per cent, etc. The national income in 1965 had grown

as compared with 1950 in Poland by 219 per cent, in Hungary by 215 per cent, in Bulgaria by 345 per cent (as compared with 1952), in Rumania by 352 per cent, in the GDR by 341 per cent, and in Czechoslovakia by 198 per cent, etc.

The growth in industrial production resulted in a considerable increase in the ranks of the working class, an enhancement of its role in the life of society as a whole. In Bulgaria the proportion of factory and office workers to the total number employed grew from 43.9 per cent in 1956 to 58.8 per cent in 1965; in Poland, from 47.7 per cent in 1950 to 53.5 per cent in 1960; in Rumania, from 37 per cent in 1956 to 52.2 per cent in 1966; in Czechoslovakia, from 72.8 per cent in 1950 to 84.2 per cent in 1961, etc.

Important progress was made in the training of new specialist personnel from the midst of the working people, in the development of science, technology and culture.

Such rapid successes were made possible by the favourable internal and external conditions of development of the European socialist countries, by the exchange of experience in state development and economic work with the Soviet Union, by the creative application of the methods of establishing new statehood already tested in practice.

The people's democracies in Asia found themselves in exceptionally difficult conditions. The imperialist forces succeeded in preventing the unification of the people of North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam on democratic principles and later organised a direct intervention in these countries. Even in that difficult situation, however, the peoples of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, with the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states and drawing on their experience, made important achievements in the building of socialism. In 1960 industrial production in the Korean People's Democratic Republic was more than five times the pre-war level. The national income had increased by 328 per cent in ten years. The number of factory and office workers had grown from 2,123,000 to 3,058,000 over the period.

The competent application by the Communist and Workers' parties of the general principles of state development contributes to the most effective use of the socialist state as the chief instrument for building socialism. Violation of the Marxist-Leninist principles results in deformations of the structure and functions of a given state, in a distortion of its socialist content and democratic form, which inevitably has a negative impact on the entire process of socialist construction. The emulation of the experience of the CPSU by the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries accords with the principles of proletarian internationalism, the objective requirements of each socialist country and the world socialist system as a whole.

An exchange of experience, its application in the interests of socialism and communism are indispensable to any Communist and Workers' Party loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The need to strengthen relations and for an increasingly broader exchange of experience between the Communist and Workers' parties in all fields of activity has become particularly urgent in the present stage of socialist construction.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIALIST STATEHOOD AND THE SOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION

1. STATE POLITICAL RELATIONS AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The abolition of national oppression and the establishment of relations of equality and fraternal friendship among nations is one of the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its most democratic form, in the field of national relations leads, above all, to the establishment of political equality of working people of all nationalities, without which the dictatorship of the proletariat itself cannot be stable. Under capitalism the working class of the oppressed nation is just as rightless as the other working people of this nation. Political equality is indispensable for the emancipation of the national sections of the working class in a multinational state taking the path of socialism. It enables the political consolidation of the working class of the country as a whole.

The establishment of political equality delivers from national oppression not only the proletarians but also all the masses of working people of the formerly oppressed nation. Since under capitalism its majority consists, as a rule, of semi-proletarian masses, particularly peasants, the solution of this task is directly related to the problem of the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry, the semi-

proletarian masses, all the middle strata, as the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the national question is wider and more many-sided in content than the development of nationhood proper, than inter-state and political relations among nations. It comprises the aggregate of relations among nations—economic, socio-political, cultural, ideological, everyday relations, etc.—in their interrelation and interdependence. It is natural, therefore, that the national question cannot be resolved exclusively within the framework of national state construction. It is dependent on revolutionary transformations of all the aspects of social life and, in the final analysis, on the establishment and consolidation of the economic foundation of socialism.

Furthermore, the building up of the state is in a definite sense the key to solving the national question under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The development of socialist nationhood implies, in the first place, the establishment of political equality of nations, without which, as demonstrated by history, it is impossible to ensure the actual equality and friendship of nations.

Political and actual inequality of the dominating and oppressed nations is the product of capitalism and is especially deepened in the era of imperialism. The general trend towards internationalisation of economic life, towards the abolition of national isolation is basically progressive, reflecting a higher level of productive forces and contributing to their development. Under capitalism, however, it is expressed in the latter's characteristic forms of subjugation and oppression of less developed nations by more developed, dominating nations, of oppression of whole peoples and continents. This is the main reason for the struggle waged by the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries for their freedom and national independence, against imperialism.

The working class as a consistently revolutionary and intrinsically internationalist class is actively supporting and leading the struggle of the oppressed nations for their na-

tional liberation. It connects it with the struggle for the abolition of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie.

The Bolshevik Party has always consistently upheld the right of nations to self-determination, to independent statehood. It invariably emphasised the basic principles of its programme on the national question at its congresses and conferences and opposed distortions in the national question.

The 10th Party Congress in 1921, proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and summing up the experience already accumulated by that time in the development of nationhood under the dictatorship of the proletariat, declared: "Whereas private property and capital inevitably disunite people, foment national strife and aggravate national oppression, collective property and labour just as inevitably bring people closer together, uproot the causes of national strife and liquidate national oppression. The existence of capitalism without national oppression is just as inconceivable as the existence of socialism is inconceivable without the liberation of oppressed nations, without national freedom. Chauvinism and national struggle are inevitable, inescapable as long as the peasantry (and the petty bourgeoisie in general, of the great power nations first and foremost) obsessed by nationalistic prejudice follows in the wake of the bourgeoisie, and conversely, national peace and national freedom can be considered secure if the peasantry follows the proletariat, i.e., if the dictatorship of the proletariat is ensured. Therefore, the victory of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the chief condition for abolishing national oppression, establishing national equality, guaranteeing the rights of the national minorities."¹

This comprehensive definition contains the essence of the national question, indicates the ways of achieving national freedom on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, pp. 248-49.

When taking decisions on the national question, the CPSU was invariably guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism. It was stated at the 12th Party congress in 1923 that "These decisions mean the following: (a) a resolute renunciation of every form of coercion in relation to nationalities; (b) recognition of the equality and sovereignty of nations in shaping their destinies; (c) recognition of the fact that a firm union of nations can be achieved only on the principles of co-operation and voluntariness; (d) declaration of the idea that such a union can become a reality only after the overthrow of the rule of capital."¹

Drawing up the Bolshevik programme on the national question, Lenin gave keen attention to national-state construction, in particular to the expediency of setting up a Soviet federation as a state system of a new, socialist type. Having in mind Marx's proposition on the possibility of forming a federation in Britain (in connection with the Irish problem), Lenin wrote in 1916: "Only by putting forward this demand was Marx really educating the English workers in the spirit of internationalism. Only in this way could he counterpose the opportunists and bourgeois reformism—which even to this day, half a century later, has not carried out the Irish 'reform'—with a revolutionary solution of the given historical task.² Only in this way could Marx maintain—in contradiction to the apologists of capital who shout that the freedom of small nations to secede is utopian and impracticable and that not only economic but also political concentration is progressive—that this concentration is progressive when it is *non-imperialist*, and that nations should

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 435.

² It is more than half a century since this was written but the Irish problem, far from having been solved, has assumed, despite partial reforms, a still more sharp character, resulting in an armed struggle between a part of the Northern Irish population, coming out for the recognition of its democratic rights, and the reactionary forces in Northern Ireland itself, as well as British troops moved in by Great Britain's Government to suppress the national liberation movement.—*Auth.*

not be brought together by force, but by a free union of the proletarians of all countries."¹

Lenin fully shared the views of Engels, who, while pointing out the advantages of a united, centralised (unitary) republic, did not rule out, in settling the national question, the establishment of a federative democratic republic in individual countries. It was Lenin's greatest contribution that as far back as the period of preparing the proletarian revolution in Russia he discovered a new form of state organisation—a Soviet socialist federation, which could be established on the general principles of a Soviet Republic.

In the process of socialist construction the Communists had to overcome difficulties resulting from the actual inequality of nations and nationalities—the aftermath of the national policies of the former ruling classes.

As is known, in the Soviet Union the period of transition from capitalism to socialism was characterised by a multi-structural economy. The formation and consolidation of the socialist economic system, its conversion into the absolutely predominant system in the economy was the central task facing the new society. To accomplish it, great difficulties had to be overcome. The backward peoples of Russia, which had been oppressed under the old regime, engaged, as a rule, in small-commodity production, using primitive labour implements. The Northern peoples even pursued a patriarchal subsistence economy. In a number of areas in Central Asia and the Caucasus, relations of semi-serfdom, oppression by local feudals and rich landowners prevailed. Russia's bourgeoisie had sought to concentrate industrial production in the country's central areas, where it was easier to carry on and more advantageous economically.

The unevenness of economic development was a characteristic feature of the formation of nations and small peoples, national minorities and groups in Russia.²

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 149-50.

² In Russia, only eight of the 114 nations and nationalities now

The inequality of nations was reflected in their social structure. In the backward national areas the working class comprised a small section, and hence the social forces, which are the prime vehicle of the idea of internationalism, of sentiments of respect for and friendship with the working people of other nations, were weaker. The bourgeois elite of the oppressed nations resorted to nationalistic slogans, seeking to rally round itself all the other strata of the people, to pose as a champion of national freedom and independence. In the Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan, the nationalists, acting hand in glove with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, set up their "own" national governments. Their activities were aimed at undermining the internationalist links between the proletarians of different nationalities, against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rule of the bourgeois nationalists, under whatever guise, invariably turned against the working people of their own nation, since they sought to secure the economic and political domination of their own bourgeoisie.

Nationalism is a historical and class notion. It arises under specific historical conditions, is objectively generated by the inequality of nations under capitalism, and is used by the ruling exploiting elite of the nation in their narrow class interests, not infrequently infecting politically immature sections of the working people, including some sections of the working class itself.

Referring to the distinctions between the nationalism of the oppressing and oppressed nation, Lenin urged great caution, flexibility and toleration in setting up new relations between nations. "What is important for the proletarian?" he inquired, and gave this clear answer: "For the proletarian it is not only important, it is absolutely essential that he should be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible

living in Soviet territory took form as nations in the period of capitalist development in the country. During Soviet years, they have been joined by another 15 nations. These 23 nations account for 90 per cent of the Soviet Union's population.

trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to ensure this?... In one way or another, by one's attitude or by concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, for the suspicion and the insults to which the government of the 'dominant' nation subjected them in the past".¹ Lenin deemed it necessary to apply such flexible tactics in handling the key problems involved in state construction, the formation and consolidation of the union of socialist republics.

The proletariat which has emerged victorious in the revolution regards it as its internationalist duty to render assistance to the national minority sections of the working class, to the working people of different nationalities in their struggle against the attempts of the exploiting elite of the nation to establish its domination. Russia's proletariat gave such assistance to the working people of the Ukraine, Central Asia and Transcaucasia. For their part, workers and peasants, representatives of many nations joined the international units of the Red Army and fought the enemies of Soviet power at all fronts of the Civil War and almost throughout the country.

The development of inter-national relations on new internationalist and democratic principles depends to a decisive degree on the success of socialist construction as a whole. The legal equality of nations alone is not enough for the complete solution of the national question. The character of inter-national relations depends, in the final analysis, on the economic system of society, on its social and class structure. In other words, it is a question of revolutionary transformations in all the spheres of social life.

Way back before the October Revolution, when drawing up their programme on the national question, the Bolsheviks criticised the conception of "cultural national autonomy" advanced by the Austrian Social-Democrats and supported by many opportunists of the 2nd International. The apolo-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 608.

gists for this conception alleged that the national question could be solved irrespective of the character of political power, economic and other social relations, by means of granting nations autonomy and independence in the development of national culture, language, public education, art, literature, etc.

The theory and practice of socialist construction have confirmed the necessity of solving the national question as one organically linked with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the building up and development of the socialist economy as the material basis for ensuring the actual equality of nations in all the fields of social life. Here, too, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat acts as the main instrument for effecting revolutionary transformations.



2. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU IN BUILDING THE MULTINATIONAL SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Party immediately took steps to solve the national question on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The principles of the Leninist policy on the national question laid down by the Party in the earlier stages of its history were enforced in the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on November 2 (15), 1917. The Declaration proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to free self-determination, up to secession and the formation of independent states, the abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions, free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia's territory.¹

¹ The consistent stand taken by the Soviet Government on this issue was also attested to by the Manifesto on the recognition of the right of the Ukraine to self-determination, up to secession, issued by the

The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia and the later decrees of the Soviet government concerned with nations and inter-national relations destroyed the regime of national oppression, created the necessary political prerequisites for the free development of all the peoples of Russia, cleared the way for national-state construction on new democratic principles. They contributed to the formation of the Soviet federation as a new, higher, socialist type of federation.

Already in the early months of Soviet power there was growing sentiment among the working people of different nationalities in favour of a voluntary union with Soviet Russia. To meet their requests the 3rd All-Russia Congress of Soviets on January 12 (25), 1918 adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, which said in part: "The Soviet Republic of Russia is based on a free union of free nations as a federation of Soviet national republics." Its establishment was formalised in the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918, the first Constitution of the victorious socialist revolution.

The formation of the RSFSR became a model of voluntary union of the working masses of different nationalities for a joint struggle in defence of the new political system, for a radical transformation of socio-economic and national relations. In December 1922, the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic was proclaimed, which incorporated the independent Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Simultaneously, the process of the formation of autonomous Soviet socialist republics and the emergence of other forms of Soviet national autonomy was in progress.¹

Council of People's Commissars in December 1917. The Soviet state recognised the state sovereignty of Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, announced the abrogation of the tsarist government's secret treaties on the partition of Persia and Turkey.

¹ The Bashkir ASSR was formed in March 1919; the Tatar ASSR, in May 1920; the Karelian Labour Commune (the Karelian ASSR as of July 1923) and the Chuvash Autonomous Region, in June 1920; the

The process of national-state construction began and developed on the basis of free volition of the working masses of different nationalities in a stubborn struggle against manifestations of great power chauvinism and local nationalism. From the first steps of Soviet power Lenin resolutely opposed any attempts to limit or curtail to whatever extent the right of individual peoples to free development and self-determination. He consistently upheld the idea of creating a Soviet multinational state on the principle of voluntary union of the equal peoples of Russia. In a letter to the workers and peasants of the Ukraine in 1919, he wrote: "We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent."¹

Lenin emphasised that only this path could lead to greater unity of nations, to overcoming the mistrust left by the centuries of rule and oppression by the landlords and capitalists. The Bolshevik Party gave special attention to involving the working masses of different nationalities in national-state construction. For example, when, in 1921, on the initiative of the Transcaucasian Party and local government organisations, the question was raised about the establishment of a federation of Transcaucasian republics, Lenin, while admitting that this initiative was useful and necessary, recommended that its implementation should be postponed for some time. He said it was advisable "...to submit the federation question for broad discussion in the Party and by the *worker and peasant masses*, conduct vigorous propaganda *in favour* of a federation and secure *decisions* to that

Kirghiz ASSR, in August 1920; the Votyak (Udmurt) and the Mari Autonomous regions, in November 1920. In 1921-1922, the Mountainous, Daghestan and Yakut Autonomous republics and a number of autonomous regions were formed.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories Over Denikin", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

effect by the congresses of Soviets in each of these republics".¹ This advice expressed the essence of Lenin's approach to solving the cardinal problems involved in the development of national-state construction: the Party advances and supports the idea of a state union of nations, conducts broad propaganda in favour of this idea among the workers and peasants; the masses of workers and peasants are the vehicle of national sovereignty, and their attitude to the idea of a union, their participation in its implementation are the decisive prerequisite for this; the final decision on this issue is taken in compliance with the will of the working masses by the most representative and plenipotentiary state organisations, which are the Soviets in the case in question.

The process of unification and political consolidation of the working class itself, the strengthening of its alliance with the toiling peasantry, as well as the class differentiation of the peasantry in the formerly backward regions of the country—in Central Asia, Transcaucasia, etc.—developed in an extremely complicated situation. Here the vestiges of former international strife, mutual mistrust between peoples, the strong influence of religion, numerous (basically nationalistic) conservative and reactionary customs and traditions were particularly rife. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, the Mussavatists, in the first place,² the Mensheviks and the So-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Memo to J. V. Stalin with the Draft Decision of the Political Bureau of the CC RCP(B) on the Formation of a Federation of Transcaucasian Republics", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 127.

² Mussavatists—members of the bourgeois and landlord party "Mussavat" (Equality) founded in Azerbaijan in 1912. In the period of preparing and implementing the Great October Socialist Revolution and during the foreign military intervention and the Civil War, the Mussavatists, leaning on the support of the Turkish, and later, of the British and German occupationists, staged an anti-Soviet rebellion in an attempt to establish bourgeois government in Baku and a number of other regions of Azerbaijan. The Mussavat counter-revolutionary "government" was overthrown by the joint efforts of the Baku proletariat and the Red Army in April 1920.

The same position was held by the Dashnaks—members of the Armenian bourgeois nationalist party "Dashnaksutyun".

cialist-Revolutionaries sought to exploit the political and cultural backwardness of fairly broad sections of the population so as to oppose them to Russia's proletariat and went out of their way to foment inter-national strife and local nationalism. They did not stop at direct betrayal of the people, entered into collusion with the whiteguards and imperialist powers, relied on the military support of the British, Turkish, German occupationists in their struggle against Soviet power.

In that situation the Soviets remained the mainstay of the dictatorship of the working class, the main link connecting the Party with large sections of the working people, with the organs of state power. With their assistance the Party stirred up the masses to a struggle against the exploiters, the internal and external counter-revolution, strengthened friendly relations and ties between the peoples of Soviet Russia.

Lenin regarded the most accurate analysis of the situation at home and abroad, of the national and historical distinctions of individual regions of the country as one of the central tasks of the Party in its guidance of state organisation. Indicative in this respect is his advice to the Communists of Transcaucasia in 1921. Having in mind the problems of strengthening and developing Soviet power in the complicated situation of the Transcaucasian republics, Lenin wrote: "The task is difficult, but fully feasible. The most important thing for its successful fulfilment is that the Communists of the Transcaucasus should be fully alive to the *singularity* of their position, and of the position of their Republics, as distinct from the position and conditions of the RSFSR; that they should appreciate the need to refrain from copying our tactics, but thoughtfully vary them in adaptation to the differing concrete conditions."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "To the Comrades Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan, and the Mountainous Republic", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 316.

The experience in development of the Party in the new historical situation, where it became the ruling party, the organiser and leader of all socialist transformations in social life, including the sphere of national-state construction was reaffirmed in the Party Programme adopted by the 8th Congress of the Bolshevik Party. It stated that the forms of statehood (by that time several independent Soviet republics had already been formed)¹ could not be extended to the Party, that it could not be built on the basis of a federation of independent Communist parties. The 8th Congress passed the following resolution: "It is necessary to have a *united* centralised Communist Party with a single Central Committee to guide all the activities of the Party in all parts of the RSFSR. All the decisions of the RCP and its governing bodies are absolutely incumbent upon all sections of the Party regardless of their national composition. The Central Committees of the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian Communists are vested with the rights of regional Party committees and fully subordinated to the CC RCP."²

The Party demanded that the local Party and state organisations, their governing bodies, all Communists working in the national republics and districts of the country strengthen their ties with the population, involve national cadres in their activities, take account of the local conditions and specifics in implementing the Party's policy. Special efforts were made to overcome great power chauvinism and local nationalism, to develop internationalist ties between all peoples.

The Communist Party put forward and implemented consistently the idea of a close union of all the Soviet republics based on the political equality of nations, their free will to establish such co-operation. This internationalist idea was formulated with especial clarity in the resolution of the Party's Central Committee "On Soviet Power in the Ukraine"

¹ In particular, the Ukrainian SSR was proclaimed in 1917 and the Byelorussian SSR in 1919.

² *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, pp. 73-74.

endorsed by the 8th All-Russia Conference. It said in particular: "Considering the necessity of a close union of all the Soviet republics in their struggle against the formidable forces of world imperialism indisputable for every Communist and every class-conscious worker, the RCP believes that the forms of this union will be ultimately determined by the Ukrainian workers and toiling peasants themselves."¹

The Party propagandised Lenin's idea of a union of the Soviet republics, cultivated feelings of friendship among nations, consistently applied the democratic principles of the Soviet Republic in national-state construction. The broad dissemination and profound assimilation by the working people of Lenin's idea of creating a united multinational socialist state answered the vital interests of the workers and peasants of different nationalities, the tasks of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, of consolidating the Soviet system. The practical implementation of this idea was most closely connected with the provision of the prerequisites for the actual equality of nations.

The advantages of the national-state forms of the Soviet type became manifest as far back as the period of the Civil War and foreign military intervention, when the Soviet republics formed a military-political alliance, which greatly contributed to the victory over the joint forces of the internal and external counter-revolution.

At the end of the Civil War, Lenin advanced the task of supplementing the political and military alliance with an economic union of the Soviet republics, of placing the organisation of state on a solid economic foundation, of pooling the material resources and creative efforts of the peoples for the purpose of the country's economic rehabilitation and development. The experience of the early years of Soviet power confirmed the impossibility of independent existence of individual Soviet republics, the precariousness of their posi-

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 124.

tion in view of the threat of military attack from capitalist states. It was emphasised at the 10th Party Congress that a federation of Soviet republics based on mutual trust and voluntary consent of the peoples made it possible: "(a) to secure the integrity and economic development of both the individual republics and the federation as a whole; (b) to embrace the entire variety of the everyday life, culture and economic conditions of the different nations and nationalities standing at different levels of development and to use accordingly this or that type of federation; (c) to set up relations of peaceful communion and fraternal co-operation between the nations and nationalities which have linked their destinies with the fate of the federation."¹

A number of national areas of the country lagged economically and culturally far behind the more developed central and other industrial areas of Russia. It was necessary to solve, within the framework of the socialist federation, an extremely complicated task: by the joint efforts of the more developed Soviet republics, above all the RSFSR, to help these peoples to advance to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, to overcome their centuries-old economic and cultural backwardness.

To strengthen Soviet national statehood it was envisaged to develop and reinforce the system of institutions using the native language of a particular nationality—the organs of state power, administration, economic management, courts of law—to involve the local population in their activities. The Party demanded an all-round development of cultural and educational institutions, of organs of the press, an improvement in the standards of training personnel of local nationalities.

The idea of setting up, on the basis of voluntary union of equal Soviet republics, of a single Union state, a socialist federation founded according to national distinctions on the basis of the Soviets, was substantiated comprehensively in

¹ Ibid., p. 250.

Lenin's work "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation' ". It is pervaded with concern for cultivating mutual trust among nations, for uniting them on the basis of the common proletarian, class interests, for observing the principle of proletarian internationalism in the relations between nations. Lenin underscored the need to ensure not only formal but also actual equality, without which there can be no full solution of the national question.

Lenin attached immense significance to setting up increasingly closer and stable relations among nations, being keenly aware of their importance for the economic and cultural development of Soviet Russia. He appealed for extreme caution, discretion and objectivity, for ruling out the slightest risk of violation of the principle of proletarian internationalism. Lenin viewed the entire cause of developing national-state construction in Soviet Russia from the angle of its international significance, as the accumulation of historical experience of world-wide importance which would be useful to all the awakening oppressed nations of the world. "But the morrow of world history," he stated confidently, "will be a day when the awakening peoples oppressed by imperialism are finally aroused and the decisive long and hard struggle for their liberation begins".¹

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the practical realisation of Lenin's teaching on the multinational socialist state. On December 30, 1922, the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviets approved the Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which united the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR, and the Transcaucasian SFSR (consisting of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia) into a single Union state. The 2nd All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted the first Constitution of the USSR on January 31, 1924. The formation of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation' ", *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 611.

multinational socialist state was of tremendous importance for the destinies of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The development of the national-state system, the consolidation of the USSR continued in the course of further socialist construction. In 1924, the Turkmen and the Uzbek, and in 1929, the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republics were formed and admitted to the USSR as equal members. The political equality of the nations revived by the October Revolution also found expression in the formation of autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas.¹

The Soviet multinational state has played an outstanding role in the accomplishment of the economic and cultural tasks of socialist construction. The pooling of the material resources within the framework of the Union state, the involvement of all its peoples in the common process of socialist construction, the development of relations of friendship, mutual assistance and fraternal co-operation between them was one of the major factors of success in implementing nationwide socialist industrialisation, co-operation in agriculture, the cultural revolution in all the Union republics. The establishment of a single multinational Union state made it possible to achieve both a general rise in the national economy and to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of individual regions in the process of socialist construction on the basis of the law of planned and balanced development of the national economy.

The guidelines for the first five-year economic development plan of the USSR, which were endorsed by the 15th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1927, read in particular: "The five-year plan should give special attention to the problems of economic and cultural advancement of backward

¹ Since the formation of the USSR the number of its constituent national state units has increased: in 1923, there were 4 Union republics, 13 autonomous republics, 16 autonomous regions; and in 1967, 15 Union republics, 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions, 10 national areas.

outlying non-Russian areas and backward regions in view of the need to overcome gradually their economic and cultural lag, providing accordingly for a faster rate of their economic and cultural development on the principle of co-ordination of their needs and requirements with those of the Union.”¹

In 1929 alone, subsidies from the Union budget accounted for almost three-fourths of the total state budget of the Tajik SSR. In the first five-year plan period, allocations from the Union budget made up over one-third of the total investments in Byelorussian industry, which guaranteed its higher growth rates than in the Union as a whole. Thanks to co-operation with and assistance from the RSFSR and other Union republics, industry in Uzbekistan grew almost three-fold during the first five-year plan period.

The general policy line of the CPSU towards the extension and strengthening of ties between peoples in the organisation of state, economic and cultural development determined the content of all five-year plans. The fraternal relations of co-operation and mutual assistance between the peoples of the USSR ensured success in the building of socialism. As a result of the implementation by the Communist Party of the Leninist policy on the national question the actual equality of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union has been achieved. The formerly backward Soviet republics today have large-scale industry and ramified agriculture. During Soviet years, Uzbekistan, for example, has developed from what was a backward, in effect, feudal province and colony of tsarist Russia into an industrial-agrarian socialist republic. By the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution the industrial production of the Uzbek SSR had increased 32 times as compared with 1913, while electricity generation in this Union Republic alone was six times that of pre-revolutionary Russia as a

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 4, p. 45.

whole in 1913. In Uzbekistan, the iron-and-steel, non-ferrous metals, chemical and engineering industries have been built up anew, and the consumer goods, food and other industries have been developed on a large scale. In the past few years, giant reserves of natural gas have been tapped here. Uzbekistan has become the country's biggest cotton supplier, producing more than two-thirds of the total Soviet cotton harvest. Its gross output of cotton-wool has grown almost eightfold.

Just as spectacular progress in economic development has been made by the Turkmen, Kirghiz, Tajik, Kazakh, Armenian, Lithuanian and other Union republics, all autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas. Everywhere, new sections of the working class have appeared, which are employed in large-scale, modern industry, the collective-farm peasantry has grown stronger, and a people's intelligentsia has risen.

This economic progress set the stage for a radical change in the cultural make-up of the peoples. In Uzbekistan where almost the whole population was illiterate before the revolution and higher educational institutions were non-existent, under Soviet power illiteracy has been wiped out and compulsory eight-year schooling introduced. During 50 Soviet years, the student body of general education schools has grown 145 times, and that of the senior forms, 351 times. In 1967, the republic's institutions of higher learning had an enrolment of 188,300. There were 17,900 research scientists, 50 per cent more than in the whole of Russia before the revolution. The Academy of Sciences set up in the republic has a ramified network of research institutes. Great achievements have been made in science, literature and the arts.

Here is another example. In 1967, the enrolment of general education schools in Kazakhstan was 27 times that before the revolution, its 200-odd higher schools, secondary technical schools and other specialised secondary educational establishments had a total student body of 357,000; there was,

in addition, a broad network of cultural and enlightenment institutions. More than 20,000 people were employed in the research field.

Bourgeois economists and sociologists have to admit the fact that great progress has been made by every Soviet republic in the economic and cultural field. They are blind, however, to the direct link of the economic and cultural development of the Soviet national republics with the advantages of the Soviet social and state system, socialist national statehood. As a rule, they attribute this advance to the general progress connected with the scientific and technological revolution developing throughout the world.

The arguments of bourgeois scholars, however, are broken when confronted by historical realities. Suffice it to compare, for example, the level of economic development of any of the Soviet Central Asian republics with that in any of the neighbouring Eastern countries, let alone the former colonies and semi-colonies of Asia, Africa or Latin America.

The experience in state construction, in economic and cultural development accumulated by the Soviet republics in the early years of Soviet power and enriched in the later periods of building socialism and communism is helpful to the working people of Asia, Africa and Latin America today.

The enemies of socialism, anti-communists are seeking to discredit, to denigrate the experience of forming and developing socialist national statehood, of using it to advance the economy and culture of the peoples of the Soviet republics, of the entire Soviet multinational state. They deliberately distort the question of the nature of the socialist federation, the character of relations between the socialist nations, misrepresent the democratic principles on which the socialist Union state is based, the mutual relations between the Union and republican organs of state power and administration. They are trying to equate the character of relations between bourgeois states, between imperialist powers and colonial

and dependent countries with the relations between the socialist nations and the socialist national states.

They are unwilling to see that in the course of socialist construction not only have the productive forces, the economy of the Soviet republics developed successfully but the cultural make-up of the peoples of the Soviet Union has changed, the friendship between the new, socialist nations has arisen and grown stronger to become one of the motive forces of the progress of all society.

The friendship of the peoples of the USSR has contributed immensely to the building and consolidation of socialism. It withstood a severe trial during the Great Patriotic War and was one of the mainsprings of the Soviet people's victory over nazism, the most vicious enemy of mankind. In the post-war period, the national economy was rebuilt within a record time by the joint efforts of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, and great strides were made on the path of building the material and technical basis of communism.

A new historical community—the Soviet people—has formed on the basis of the deep-going and comprehensive changes in all the spheres of life in the Soviet Union. This community “is based on the deep-rooted objective material and spiritual changes in the country's life, on the emergence and development in our country of socialist nations which have established a new type of relations among themselves”.¹

The multinational Soviet people is a stable socio-political and cultural community of people, organically incorporating the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, which have common class interests and goals. This community is developing on the basis of further strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the friendship among peoples, the new type of relations be-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1973, p. 31.

tween the socialist nations, the intensifying process of internationalisation of the entire life of the Soviet people. The Soviet people have a common socialist homeland—the united multinational state of the whole people. It is characterised by a variety of forms of national statehood with a uniform political foundation, a common culture, socialist in content, varied in national form, and internationalist in spirit and character.

An intrinsic quality of the spiritual make-up of the Soviet people is the national pride of the Soviet man cultivated by the socialist system itself, by Soviet reality, by Marxist-Leninist ideology. "The national pride of the Soviet man," L. I. Brezhnev said, "is a sentiment that is great, all-embracing and immensely rich in content. It is more far-reaching and profound than the natural national feelings of each of the peoples making up our country. It has absorbed all the finest accomplishments of the labour, courage and creative genius of millions of Soviet people."¹ The feeling of national pride is the result of the objective processes taking place in socialist society. The successes and achievements of every people reflect, in the final analysis, the efforts and labour of the whole socialist society, of all its peoples, just as the advance of each socialist nation along the path of progress means a contribution to the all-people's cause of building communism.

The solution of the national question in the USSR, the emergence and development of socialist nations, the formation of a new historical community of people—the Soviet people, the growing friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union are conclusive evidence of the triumph of the Leninist policy on the national question, of the correctness of the CPSU general line in the development of nationhood, of the translation of the ideas of socialist internation-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, p. 92.

alism into life. At the same time, the CPSU attaches immense importance to the continued promotion of the unity of the Soviet people, to the education of all working people in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. Objective prerequisites for any antagonisms in the relations between nations have long ceased to exist in the Soviet Union. However, nationalistic prejudices, an exaggerated or distorted expression of national feelings is an extremely viable phenomenon, sticking tenaciously in the mentality of politically immature individuals. Nationalistic prejudices and survivals are encouraged in every way by bourgeois ideologists and imperialist circles pursuing their class interests, with a view to undermining the unity of the Soviet people. Outlining the most rational ways of the development of individual nations and nationalities, the CPSU displays maximum of attention to the needs of every nation, working simultaneously to secure harmony between the interests of each nation and the common interests of the Soviet people as a whole. The upbringing of ideologically staunch patriots and internationalists is regarded by the Party as a first-priority task whose accomplishment contributes to the continued strengthening of the socio-political unity of the Soviet people. The experience in the formation and development of the USSR corroborates still more conclusively that the successful settlement of the national question, just as of all the other problems involved in the building of socialism, is possible only with the Communist Party being in the vanguard and playing the guiding role.

It is underscored in the Programme of the CPSU and in the decisions of the 24th Party Congress that in the conditions of developed socialism, in the present stage of communist construction, a rise is in evidence in the significance and role of the USSR as a state form of the joint struggle of free nations for the communist ideals, which has fully justified itself historically. Under present conditions, the tasks of comprehensive development and specialisation of

the economies of the Union republics, which constitute the integrated economy of the Soviet Union, are increasingly advanced to the forefront. The federative links between the equal Union republics ensure the fulfilment, above all, of the overall nationwide tasks—the building of the material and technical base of communism, and a steep rise in the material and cultural standards of life of the Soviet people on the basis of high development rates of socialist production. L. I. Brezhnev emphasised that the economy of the Soviet Union is not the sum total of the economies of individual republics and regions. It has long formed as an integral economic organism on the basis of the common economic objectives and interests of all Soviet nations and nationalities. The broad development of the democratic principles in national-state construction in the conditions of developed socialism, the widening of the rights of the Union republics does not rule out but implies the need for utilising their resources more comprehensively to strengthen the economic power of the Union state.

Setting the general guidelines for the continued development of the national economy of the USSR, the Communist Party proceeded from the principle that a rational, scientifically grounded distribution of productive forces, the further industrial development of all the Union republics was one of the major conditions for raising the efficiency of social production.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance between all its nations and nationalities have yielded excellent results expressed in the establishment and consolidation of the socialist social and state system. The use under the guidance of the Communist Party of all the advantages inherent in the Soviet multinational socialist state is one of the key prerequisites for fulfilling the breathtaking plans of building a communist society in the USSR.

3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXPERIENCE
OF THE CPSU IN SOLVING
THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The experience in national-state construction in the USSR has fully confirmed the viability and scientific soundness of the Leninist policy on the national question resting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and regarding the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of relations of equality and fraternal friendship among nations as the principal condition for building a new society.

Soviet experience has demonstrated that the national question can be solved successfully only on the basis of compliance with and application of the general laws of socialist construction, primarily through the leadership of the working people by the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist Party in the vanguard, the implementation of revolutionary reforms in the economic and other spheres of social life.

The experience of the formation and development of the USSR has demonstrated that the voluntary union of equal nations in an integral socialist state multiplies the forces of the working class, of the working people of all nationalities, guarantees the legal and actual equality of nations. Such a union is a dependable base for the economic and cultural progress of the whole of society and every individual people, for the defence of the socialist gains, strengthens friendship and co-operation between the socialist nations, and generates feelings of national pride in the successes and achievements of all the fraternal peoples.

Soviet experience in setting up fraternal, friendly relations among nations, in solving the national question is especially meaningful in today's world where there are some 2,000 different peoples, ranging from small tribes to multi-millioned nations, while the number of states does not

exceed 150. Consequently, more than 90 per cent of nations and nationalities live in multinational states. About 1,600 peoples live in the developing countries of Asia and Africa, where the processes of consolidation and formation of nationalities from tribal groups have not as yet ended.

In the USSR, there have been worked out the most effective methods for applying the general laws of the development of nationhood, for applying the state forms of solving the national question, which have stood the test of time and played a great part in the life of all Soviet nations and nationalities.

The international significance of the theory and practice of solving the national question in the USSR has been graphically demonstrated in many countries of the world socialist community. This, however, by no means implies that the Communists of other countries which have embarked on the socialist path have received ready-made recipes, the answers to all life situations arising in the settlement of complicated and delicate problems concerning nations and international relations. It is indisputable, however, that the availability of experience in solving the national question summed up theoretically in the programme documents of the CPSU is helpful to all the fraternal parties. In the field of state construction the Communist and Workers' parties follow the Leninist policy on the national question, emulate the experience in settling the national question in the USSR with a view to the common internationalist tasks facing the world socialist system and the specific features and distinctions of each country.

This implies, just as in the USSR, a solution of the national question on the principle of political equality of large and small nations, their achievement of actual equality, the provision of the conditions and prerequisites for developing friendship and co-operation among nations in all the fields of state organisation, economic and cultural development. In socialist countries the principle of equality of all nations

is proclaimed in the Constitution, and is guaranteed by law. The equality of large and small nations is expressed, in particular, in such an important institution as citizenship: all citizens of socialist states regardless of nationality have equal rights and duties. In socialist countries, a direct or indirect restriction on rights and the affording of advantages or any privileges on account of nationality, as well as the fomenting of national hostility are considered unconstitutional and punishable by law.

In the process of socialist construction, the Communist and Workers' parties work to abolish the vestiges of the former actual inequality of nations, facilitate the development of the economy and culture, socialist in content and national in form. In the people's democracies, new, socialist nations opposed to the bourgeois nations as regards their social structure, world outlook, and entire spiritual make-up emerged on the basis of the radical economic and socio-political transformations in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Most indicative in this respect is the completion of the process of formation of the socialist German nation in the German Democratic Republic, which is different from the bourgeois German nation in the Federal Republic of Germany. This example illustrates especially vividly the decisive importance a revolutionary transformation of the foundation of the economy, the entire social and state system on socialist lines has for the present life and the future of a nation.

The concrete historical and national distinctions of socialist countries generate differences in the development of national statehood, the forms of state system. As is known, a socialist federation is not an indispensable form of internal organisation for every socialist state. It can arise only in a country with a multinational population where different nationalities live in more or less compact groups, are linked by common territory, economic interests, etc. For socialist states, voluntary union of equal nations in a single state is a general national principle of organising a federa-

tion. This is the cardinal difference between the socialist and the bourgeois federation, which rejects the national principle of its formation in general.

Until recently all the socialist states except the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia had been constructed as unitary, single states (with various types of national autonomy and other national units within them). In 1969, Czechoslovakia, which had theretofore been a socialist republic of two equal nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks—was transformed into a socialist federation. The former national state form of union of the peoples of Czechoslovakia played a useful role on the whole, but within its framework it was not possible to solve a number of complicated problems, which gave rise to definite difficulties in inter-national relations in the country. This was immediately turned to advantage by the anti-socialist forces for their counter-revolutionary objectives during the crisis events of 1968-1969. They went out of their way to whip up nationalistic and chauvinistic hysteria.

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1971 said in its resolution that "the establishment of the Czechoslovak federation has crowned the efforts of the Party to adjust by constitutional law the relations between the Czech and the Slovak peoples on the principles of full equality."¹ The formation of the Czechoslovak federation based on socialist principles has contributed to the consolidation of the entire Czechoslovak society, the strengthening of its unity and the fraternal co-operation between the Czech and the Slovak peoples.

The multinational population structure in the People's Republic of China dictated the need to form national autonomies within the framework of a unitary multinational state. The preamble to the Constitution of the PRC adopted in 1954 reads that "in the process of economic and cultural development the state shall display concern for the needs

¹ *The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, 1972, p. 247 (in Russian).

of all nationalities, while the specific features of their development shall be fully taken into consideration in the questions of socialist transformations".¹ The Party and constitutional documents adopted in the early period of the PRC evidence that the Communist Party and the state had solemnly promised to guarantee the equality of all nations and nationalities. Later, however, the Marxist-Leninist principles of national-state construction were buried in oblivion.

The fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries, in handling the vital tasks of economic and cultural development, of advancing the material well-being of the working people of all nationalities, give keen attention to ideological and political work among the masses, to educating them in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, friendship and co-operation with the peoples of the Soviet Union, of all the countries of the world socialist system, with the working class and the working people of the whole world.

Nationalism and great power chauvinism are employed by the reactionary imperialist circles as one of the chief instruments for ideological subversion against the socialist world in an effort to undermine the friendly ties and relations between socialist nations, between the peoples of socialist countries, to split the unity of the international working class, to weaken and disrupt the national liberation movement from within. The peoples of the world remember that nationalism was the soil on which monopoly capital raised fascism, which laid claim to world supremacy and brought untold disasters and suffering to mankind. Today, bourgeois nationalism is the nutrient medium for those in the capitalist countries who are pursuing a policy of racial discrimination on a nationwide scale, who are encouraging Israel's aggression against the Arab peoples, and organising conspiracies, subversive activities, military coups in the

¹ *The Constitution and Fundamental Legislative Acts of the People's Republic of China*, Moscow, 1955, p. 30 (in Russian).

countries which have opted to develop independently, who are sowing discord in Northern Ireland and on Cyprus, supporting the racist regime in South Africa.

It is, in effect, from the positions of bourgeois nationalism that the opportunists, Right-wing and "Left" revisionists attack the gains of socialism in many fields, primarily in the field of relations among nations, seeking to distort, to falsify the Leninist policy on the national question pursued by the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties.

In this situation the Communist parties in the capitalist countries are actively opposing bourgeois nationalism by the scientific ideology of proletarian internationalism, drawing on the experience of the CPSU for convincing evidence of the viability and invincibility of the class solidarity of the working people of different nationalities, the possibility and necessity of their continued cohesion in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The principles of proletarian internationalism are expressed and formulated in the documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, in the programme documents of Communist parties, and serve the cause of uniting all the anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of the working class. For example, the programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "The British Road to Socialism", provides for the evolvement of new forms of future state structure, which would meet the aspirations of the peoples of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, in particular, the setting up of their own parliaments in Scotland and Wales, the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, and the granting of full freedom to the Irish people for the establishment of a united republic.

The principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are the basis for further strengthening the unity of the Communist parties themselves, for pooling their forces to implement the planned programme of action. For example, the Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Northern Ireland have united in a single party of the

working class. The formation of the united Communist Party of Ireland multiplies the working-class forces in the struggle for ending the rule of British imperialism, in the struggle for the national independence of the Irish people.

The principles of proletarian internationalism which are expressed, defended and translated into life by the ruling Communist and Workers' parties are becoming increasingly clear to and popular with the broad masses of the working people throughout the world.

Their experience rouses the interest of the peoples of the developing countries struggling against neo-colonialism, for strengthening their national independence. The experience of the socialist nations in implementing the ideas of internationalism serves as a model for emulation by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, gives them confidence in their own powers, facilitates the choice of the right ways of further development, the forecasts of future social progress.

This was vividly described at the 24th CPSU Congress by the representative of the small, freedom-loving Mauritanian people, Bakara Uld Sidi Haib. "By your Marxist-Leninist example," he said, addressing the Soviet Communists, "you have proved that it is not enough only to wish for independence and press for its international recognition, often merely a matter of form; it is also necessary to rise to the level of genuine independence, to make it a reality by means of tireless day-to-day work and truly revolutionary decisions on the home scene and in the international sphere. This is not easy, nor has it ever been an easy matter for any country, and the struggle you waged to defend the gains of your great revolution and ensure a better future for the Soviet people is conclusive evidence to this effect."¹

The peoples of the world are learning from experience, from the Soviet example that new, socialist nations, new social communities cemented by the ties of unbreakable

¹ *The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Verbatim Report*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1971, pp. 504-05 (in Russian).

friendship and co-operation—the prototype of mankind's future—arise in the process of revolutionary transformations. This is precisely why they come to realise that the Soviet Union, the world socialist system are a dependable bastion in the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

CHAPTER V

THE EFFORTS OF THE CPSU TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE SOVIET STATE IN CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

1. THE EXPANSION OF THE SOCIAL BASIS FOR THE SOVIET STATE. THE GROWING OVER OF THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO AN ALL-PEOPLE'S STATE

By the mid-1930s the main edifice of socialist society had been built in the Soviet Union. In less than twenty years it had become the world's second biggest industrial power. This was undoubtedly a breakthrough in the development of society's productive forces, without precedent in any capitalist country.

The growth of Soviet economic power testified, above all, to the fulfilment of the central economic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat formulated in their time by Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "...to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible".¹ As is known, however, the essence of Soviet society's economic development was not only quantitative change, the tremendous increase in the scale of industrial

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 126.

production. The fastest possible growth rates of the productive forces were maintained on the principles of socialist economic management and led to qualitative changes in the economic system of society. In the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the multistructural pattern of the economy was abolished, and the socialist type of property (in its two forms: state property—belonging to the entire people—and co-operative and collective-farm property), the socialist economic system became absolutely predominant in town and country.

The quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy predetermined also the radical changes in the social and class structure of society. The conquest of political power by the proletariat, the establishment and consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry implied a change in the position of the classes in society, while the socialist transformations in the economic and all other spheres of social life led to a change in the very composition of the classes of working people. As is known, the building of communism has for its aim the elimination of all class differences and the formation of a classless society. In the period of transition to socialism at least three first-priority tasks are accomplished in this field: the exploiting classes and the objective conditions for their existence are removed from the scene (through the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the forms of exploitation of man by man linked with it); small-commodity production is transformed into large-scale socialist production, on the basis of which the private ownership mentality of the small-commodity producers, the toiling peasants is remodelled; the antagonisms between town and country, between mental and physical work are eliminated by means of sweeping economic and social reforms, and a solid foundation is laid for the socio-political unity of the whole people. This finds expression in the continued consolidation of the alliance between the classes of working people.

In conditions of developed socialism the necessary prerequisites are created for achieving full social equality, the social uniformity of society on the basis of continued economic growth, of improving all socialist social relations, of eliminating gradually the last source of social inequality—the essential differences between mental and physical labour, between town and country.

The theory and practice of real socialism in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries demonstrate that no new classes arise in the process of socialist construction, while the classes of the working people tend to develop and change.

The working class of the Soviet Union maintains the continuity of the revolutionary traditions, strengthens its internationalist ties with the proletariat of the world. In the process of socialist construction it acquires new social qualities. In the Soviet Union, particularly in the period of socialist industrialisation and reconstruction of the national economy, the ranks of the industrial proletariat swelled. Simultaneously, its political maturity, educational and cultural standards and technical competence also increased. The working class was steeled in the bitter class struggle during the period of transition to socialism, learning the skills of management of the affairs of state, of all the aspects of socialist construction.

Essential changes took place in the social composition of the peasantry. The victory of socialism set the stage for removing the economic factors responsible for the internal differentiation of the peasantry into exploiters and exploited, for the growth of the stratum of kulaks, it set the stage for overcoming private ownership mentality. The collective farmers are encouraged to develop the mentality of a working man belonging to a collective, using publicly-owned implements and eligible to remuneration on socialist principles. The toiling peasantry as an ally of the working class, together with the working class and under its leadership, goes through what may be called a great socio-political school, and is

increasingly involved in the administration of state, in the management of all collective-farm affairs.

The establishment and reinforcement of collective farms, their equipment with sophisticated machinery generate the demand for new specialities, stimulate the advancement of the cultural standards and technical competence of the peasantry.

In the process of building socialism, both classes of the working people advance to such a level of social development which is indispensable for the strengthening and perfection of social relations under socialism. In his time, Marx wrote in a message to the workers: "You will perhaps have to live through another 15, 20 or 50 years of civil war and international conflicts in order not only to change the existing conditions but also to change yourselves and make yourselves capable of political rule."¹ Referring to the ways and means of abolishing capitalism and building the new society, the founders of scientific communism called attention to the necessity of awakening socialist consciousness in the masses. This is possible only during a socialist revolution, in the process of building the new society.

The transition period from capitalism to socialism is dictated, therefore, not only by the need to perpetuate the gains of the socialist revolution, suppress the resistance of the deposed exploiting classes, abolish private property, lay and reinforce the foundation of the socialist economy, but also by the need to educate, train, unite and organise the working class itself, to make it capable of guiding socialist society. Under the leadership of the working class and its Party the same path is also traversed by the toiling peasantry, which unites in a class of the working people uniform in its social character.

When drawing up his plan of building socialism, Lenin listed as major items not only socialist industrialisation and

¹ Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 8, S. 412.

co-operation in agriculture, but also a cultural revolution, which is called upon to ensure the absolute domination of the materialist world outlook, to raise a new, people's intelligentsia, and to advance the masses culturally.

No ruling class in the past could do without its own intelligentsia, even more necessary was it to the working class which was carrying out a radical transformation of society on scientific lines. Under the guidance of the Communist Party mass-scale training of scientists and engineers, industrial managers and cultural workers from the midst of the working people was started in the Soviet Union. Also involved in the creative work for the benefit of the people were veteran specialists. All this enabled the Soviet state to cope effectively with the complicated problems of economic and cultural development. Already in 1936, 90 per cent of members of the Soviet intelligentsia were persons who had come from the working class, the peasantry and other sections of the working people.

Thus, by the mid-thirties a new social and class structure of Soviet society had taken shape. As a result of the radical changes in the structure of society and under the influence of the political, ideological, educational and organising activities of the Communist Party, which used for these purposes the entire political organisation of the socialist type, there arose and strengthened the social and political unity of socialist society. The abolition of the exploiting classes, including the kulaks, who were the most numerous and dangerous enemies of the socialist transformations in the countryside, eliminated the class-antagonistic contradictions and the forms of the class struggle associated with them. This was a great victory for socialism, whose significance can hardly be overestimated.

Thereby the dictatorship of the proletariat fulfilled one of its major tasks not only in the economic but also in the socio-political field.

The disappearance of the exploiting classes from the historical scene does not by itself put an end to the influence

of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, morals, views and habits. Experience has shown that many members of the dislodged classes, which were defeated politically, ousted from the economic sphere and, therefore, ceased to exist as classes, remain a source of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the working people. What is more, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and morals, which had developed and been implanted in the minds of the working people through the centuries, are extremely viable, adapting themselves to the new conditions, feeding on difficulties and shortcomings in socialist construction, and being nourished artificially by the capitalist world.

What is most important, however, is that the victory of socialism, the establishment of the social and political unity of society have for the first time provided the possibility to expose these no longer antagonistic contradictions of social development, and to overcome them by vigorous, purposive actions on the part of the working masses, their state and public organisations under the leadership of the Communist Party.

In this situation the significance of the Party's policy becomes still greater.

The political leadership of the Party consists primarily in advancing in good time on a scientific basis, in conformity with theory and practice, and the experience in socialist construction, new political tasks and goals and corresponding political slogans, working out general directives on the problems of state, economic and cultural development. The matter, however, is not confined to this first-priority problem, which is the most complicated theoretically, and can be solved only by a Party firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist positions.

Political leadership includes as an indispensable element the direction of the entire political organisation of society, particularly the state, the involvement of ever broader sections of the working people in the management of public affairs, the enhancement of their political activity in the

accomplishment of the tasks of socialist construction, the advancement of the political relations themselves. Thus, political leadership by the Party embraces all the structural elements of politics in the broad sense: political ideology, the political organisation of society, political relations.

Let us turn to the experience of the Soviet Union, the practices of political leadership by the CPSU. In the early 1930s, measures were planned and implemented in the field of organisation of state and economic administration to provide for concrete management of economic establishments, and work got under way to reconstruct the state and economic apparatus on the production-territorial principle, beginning from the primary production units and ending with the People's Commissariats. To provide the key prerequisites for planned and accelerated development of heavy industry, without which it was impossible to reconstruct the national economy, the Central Committee of the Party and the USSR Council of People's Commissars in 1933 introduced the institution of Party organisers at the Donbas collieries, and set up political departments on the railways. To improve organisational, economic and political work in agriculture, political departments were set up at Machine and Tractor Stations and on state farms.¹

The measures to improve the management of the national economy were in compliance with the urgent requirements of socialist construction. The establishment of socialist production relations in all the decisive fields of the national economy, the achievements in industrialisation, the rise in the standards of culture and technical competence of production personnel, the general enhancement in the cultural standards of the people, the victory of the collective-farm system in the countryside stimulated the political and production activities of the working people. The Stakhanov movement initiated in the country and actively supported

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 5, pp. 80-81.

by the Party and the Soviet government spread to all branches of industry and agriculture, and advanced socialist emulation to a new, higher stage.

The new economic and socio-political factors dictated the need to develop further and improve the entire political organisation of society.

The Party carried out a series of measures to promote democracy in social life, above all, in the activities of the Party itself. The new Party Rules adopted by the 17th Congress of the CPSU(B) gave a succinct definition of the Party's place within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat: "The Party directs all the organs of proletarian dictatorship and ensures the successful construction of socialist society." The new Party Rules were supplemented with a special section on inner-Party democracy and Party discipline. Implementing the requirements of the new Party Rules and the congress decisions helped raise the level of organisational work in all Party bodies to that of political leadership.

In 1935, a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU(B) resolved on the need to amend the Constitution of the USSR in the following directions: "*(a) further democratisation of the electoral system by changing over from partly unequal to equal suffrage, from election by stages to direct election, from open to secret ballot; (b) finalising the socio-economic principles of the Constitution to bring it into conformity with the present alignment of class forces in the USSR (establishment of new socialist industry, defeat of the kulaks, triumph of the collective-farm system, institution of socialist property as the foundation of Soviet society, etc.)*"¹

The resolution of the Party Central Committee on the amendments in the Constitution of the USSR was discussed and approved by the 7th All-Union Congress of Soviets.

In June 1936 a Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee approved in the main the draft Constitution of

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 5, p. 205.

the USSR. It was discussed and approved by the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee and submitted for nationwide discussion, in which more than 50 million people took part. About two million amendments, additions and various suggestions were proposed. The draft Constitution was discussed at extraordinary district, regional, territorial and republican congresses of Soviets.

After a debate on the Constitution it was adopted by the 8th Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of the USSR on December 5, 1936.

The new Constitution of the USSR reflected the victory of the socialist system in the entire national economy, the establishment of socialist property as the economic foundation of society. It gave legislative enforcement to the new social structure of Soviet society, to the major principles of socialism.

The introduction of universal, direct and equal elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies by secret ballot meant the lifting of all temporary restrictions. The democratisation of elections applied to the entire system of the Soviets from top to bottom and contributed immensely to heightening their role in socialist construction. The adoption and implementation of the principles of the new Constitution implied bringing the entire political superstructure into line with the economic and social system of victorious socialism.

This set the stage for the process of the growing over of the state of proletarian dictatorship into an all-people's state. It was objective in character and based on the continued advancement of the level of society's economic, social-class development. By its policy of consolidating the Soviet state and developing socialist democracy the CPSU provided all the conditions required for effective application of the objective laws. The working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia united under the leadership of the Party in a close-knit Communist and non-Party bloc demonstrated their socio-political unity in the elections to

the supreme organs of state power of the USSR, the Union and Autonomous Republics, the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies in 1937-1939.¹

The Communist Party played the leading part in organising and holding the elections based on the new electoral system, in setting up and consolidating the Communist and non-Party bloc.

Although the cult of Stalin's personality caused certain damage to socialist democracy, the deep-seated processes of democratisation of social life continued to develop. The personality cult resulted, in particular, in violations of the norms of Party life, of the principles of collective Party leadership and often led to grave mistakes in the activities of Party and government bodies, to gross violations of socialist legality. The Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee said in particular: "In spite of and contrary to the personality cult, the powerful initiative of the popular masses, led by the Communist Party, an initiative generated by our system, was performing its great historic work, overcoming all obstacles on the path of socialist construction. This is the supreme expression of the democracy of the Soviet socialist system. The spectacular achievements of socialism have not come by themselves. They have been made possible by the immense organising and educational work of the Party and its local organisations, by the fact that the Party has always educated its members in the spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of loyalty to the communist cause."²

The 18th Party Congress in 1939, leaning on the achievements in the country's economic, socio-political and cultural development, faced the Party and the people with new

¹ The high political activity and maturity of the working people were illustrated by the fact that over 91 million (96.8 per cent) of the total 94 million voters went to the polls in the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1937. Ninety million cast their ballots for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc.

² *On the Overcoming of the Personality Cult and Its Consequences*, Resolution of the CC CPSU, Moscow, 1956, p. 22 (in Russian).

tasks motivated by the Soviet Union's entry into the period of completing the building of socialism and pointed out, in particular, the need to strengthen the Soviet socialist state in every possible way. The congress drew the important theoretical conclusion on the possibility of building communism in one country, in the USSR. The documents and decisions of the congress were of major importance for the practical activities of the Party in directing the work of state construction.

The war against nazi Germany (1941-1945) disrupted the fulfilment of the plans outlined. The severe hardships experienced by the Soviet people defending the freedom and independence of their socialist motherland greatly slowed down the rates of socialist construction. The Great Patriotic War necessitated regearing of the economy, of the entire system of administration to the needs of the war, and an essential revision in the structure and powers of individual elements of the Soviet state apparatus. In the early days of the war, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) and the USSR Council of People's Commissars resolved to set up a State Defence Committee with emergency powers throughout the country.

By the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of June 22, 1941, in the territories where martial law was proclaimed all the functions of government involved in the organisation of defence, the maintenance of law and order and security were vested in the Military Councils of fronts, armies, military districts, and where such bodies were absent in the military command of troop formations. In all other territories the Soviets exercised full authority in accordance with the tasks of wartime.

The war put to a gruelling test the strength of the socialist social and state system, the socio-political unity of society, the maturity and ability of the Communist Party as the leader and guiding force of society.

Notwithstanding the formidable difficulties and the

extremely severe trials, particularly in the early period of the war, the entire system of government organs continued to function on the constitutional, democratic principles. The establishment of new organs and delegation to them of definite emergency powers were implemented in compliance with the rights vested in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of People's Commissars by the Constitution of the USSR. In the centre and the provinces administration was exercised by the supreme and local bodies of government. Only the tasks and especially the forms and methods of their activity were changed. The first-priority task was to supply the needs of the front, to regear industry and agriculture to the demands of the war, to relocate thousands of enterprises from front-line areas deep into the rear, to organise the evacuation and accommodation of refugees, etc.

The Great Patriotic War strikingly demonstrated the advantages of the socialist economic and management system, which made it possible to adapt the country's whole life to the wartime conditions in a record time.

The war could not but affect the extent of application of the democratic principles of the Soviet state. Because of the emergency conditions of wartime the constitutional terms of re-election of the Soviets were postponed, their sessions were not held regularly, and the Soviets and their deputies did not report on their activities to the electorate regularly.

Faced with the need to take prompt decisions on problems connected with the demands of the front and the rear local Party organisations often had to interfere in the practical activities of local government and economic bodies. Nevertheless, the application of the constitutional, democratic principles, the involvement of the working masses and their organisations in fulfilling the tasks facing society remained the chief and decisive method of Party leadership of the Soviet state apparatus, of the entire political system during the war years. That is why the Com-

munist Party could arouse and organise the Soviet people to the struggle against the nazi invaders, take full advantage of the resources and advantages of the socialist economic system, the Soviet state, the entire political organisation of society for the total defeat of the enemy.

In the crucible of the Great Patriotic War the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, the socio-political unity of society grew stronger still.

In the post-war period, the national economy was rehabilitated within a brief space of time, and great strides were made on the path of economic and cultural advance in the USSR.

The achievements in building socialism created the prerequisites for completing the process of the growing over of the state of proletarian dictatorship into an all-people's state. The dictatorship of the proletariat ceased to be indispensable, primarily from the viewpoint of the internal conditions of the development of socialist society. It had fulfilled its economic, political and social functions connected with the building and consolidation of socialism.

In the economic field, the dictatorship of the proletariat had helped to abolish completely the multi-structural pattern of the economy, private ownership of the means of production and the forms of exploitation of man by man associated with it. Socialist ownership and the socialist economic system had been established, and socialist production relations based on mutual assistance and co-operation had emerged and developed.

In the socio-political field, the dictatorship of the proletariat had been instrumental in abolishing the exploiting classes for good and all, in strengthening the socio-political unity of socialist society, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the friendship of nations.

The cultural revolution had in the main been completed. The Party and the Soviet state had achieved great successes in the communist education of the working people.

This resulted in the absolute domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology in society, in the advancement of the educational and cultural standards of the mass of the working people, in the progress of science, literature and the arts.

The Soviet state, which had emerged and developed in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the conditions of full triumph of socialism grew over into an all-people's state expressing the will and interests of the entire Soviet people. The function of the Soviet state of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes had fully withered away and ceased to exist.

On the basis of the socio-political unity of society, the changes in its social and class structure, the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the social content of the Soviet state was developed and enriched. It entered a new, higher stage of development.

The tasks and functions of the Soviet all-people's state were defined in the Programme of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Party Congress in 1961. It is called upon to "organise the building up of the material and technical basis of communism, and the transformation of socialist relations into communist relations . . . exercise control over the measure of work and the measure of consumption, promote the people's welfare, protect the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, socialist law and order and socialist property, instil in the people conscious discipline and a communist attitude to labour, guarantee the defence and security of the country, promote fraternal co-operation with the socialist countries, uphold world peace, and maintain normal relations with all countries".¹ This definition of the tasks facing the Soviet state emphasises the constructive, creative spirit of its activities, its active role in communist construction.

The programme documents of the CPSU underscore the

¹ *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 547-48.

close link and continuity between the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the all-people's state. The social basis of the all-people's state just as that of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the working class as the most advanced class in socialist society. In the all-people's state it retains its leading role in all the spheres of social life. As a state of the socialist type it is the main instrument of communist construction. The all-people's state has inherited from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat the main democratic principles of its structure and activities, its constructive functions, the entire experience of directing the building of socialism.

At the same time, the all-people's state not only preserves continuity from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat but it also develops further and realises in full in a new historical situation the social qualities and features inherent in the nature of the socialist state. In the new stage of the development of society the state is confronted by more complicated problems involved in the building up of the material and technical basis of communism, the advancement of socialist social relations, the rise in the standards of the well-being and culture of the Soviet people, the moulding of the new man. All this demands improvement of the ways and means of management of economic and cultural development, of all social processes. The enrichment of the content of the activities of the state sets the stage for the continued development and change of its political form. From the political form of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Soviet Republic grows over into the political form of an all-people's state, and proletarian democracy, into an all-people's democracy.

As government by the whole people, united by common socio-political and ideological interests, it expresses the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, of all social strata and groups of socialist society. All-people's democracy does not, naturally, cease to be political democracy, just as the all-people's state, a political organisation.

Expressing the interests of the toiling classes, the working class first and foremost, it is used for the accomplishment of the ultimate goals of the working class, of its historic mission, which complies with the goals and interests of all the working people. All-people's democracy gives full scope to the implementation of the basic principles of socialist democracy, above all, the universal character and effectiveness of the involvement of the working masses in the administration of state, to which Lenin attached decisive importance. The political rights and freedoms of citizens are guaranteed by the increased material resources of society, as well as by the political and organisational facilities, the standards of socialist law, the Constitution of the USSR, the state and public organisations safeguarding the lawful rights and interests of the working people.

The increased economic potential of society, the growth of the material well-being of the people, the expansion of the network of research and educational institutions, cultural and recreational centres enable every citizen to enjoy to a maximum his constitutional rights to work, education, leisure, maintenance in old age, in case of temporary disability, etc.

The process of the growing over of the state of proletarian dictatorship into an all-people's state, of its consolidation, proceeded dialectically, in accordance with objective laws, by way of overcoming the non-antagonistic contradictions and difficulties which were both objective and subjective in character. The role of the Communist Party as the leader and guiding force was expressed in that it used its prestige, its experience in directing state construction, its power of scientific prevision, its organisational and political methods and means to overcome these difficulties. The Party promoted in every way the Leninist norms of Party life, the principles of democratic centralism and socialist legality in all the structural elements of the Soviet state. The Party line in state construction was directed to widening the rights of the Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, to en-

hancing the role of state and public organisations of the working people in the building of communism. Special attention was paid to the improvement of the state apparatus, to simplifying its structure and reducing its maintenance costs, to strengthening the ties with the masses, to increasing the interaction between state and public organisations.

The Communist Party overcame the elements of subjectivism and voluntarism in solving the vital problems of state and economic development. After the October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the 23rd Party Congress in 1966 efforts were concentrated on the problems involved in raising the level of scientific management of the economic and all the social processes of communist construction. This was dictated not only by the need to struggle against subjectivism and voluntarism but also by the objective requirements of the development of socialist society, which had entered its stage of maturity. The complexity of the economic structure and the scale of economic construction grew immeasurably, and the scientific and technological revolution broadly developed.

The CPSU planned and began implementing an economic reform designed to raise the efficiency of socialist production, to ensure a further growth in labour productivity as ultimately the major condition for the triumph of communism. The Party subordinated the activities of the socialist state, the entire political organisation of society to the achievement of these goals.

To convert the scientific methods of administration and management into a component element of state construction is one of the key tasks being handled by the Party in the field of leadership of the Soviet state at the present stage.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU in 1971, formulating the tasks in the field of state construction, clearly outlined the task of continued strengthening of the Soviet state. This is of crucial importance for understanding the laws of its development under present conditions.

The future of the all-people's state, just as of the entire political organisation of society, is connected with the emergence of communist public self-government, which will come to replace the state when communism triumphs and becomes consolidated on a world-wide scale. This conclusion rests on the theory of scientific communism, is confirmed by the general tendency of the development of socialism, its social and class structure, and socialist statehood. The all-people's state, however, must not be regarded as a short-lived social phenomenon, as a strictly transitional stage, as merely a certain step towards communist public self-government.

Such self-government is a non-class and, consequently, a non-political organisation of the working people in communist society. The major conditions and prerequisites for the growing over of the entire political organisation of socialist society, including the state, into communist public self-government, is the building up of the appropriate material and technical basis for communism, the advancement of social relations, and the all-round development and education of the individual.

When explaining the objective conditions for the withering away of the state in the higher phase of communism, Lenin emphasised primarily the economic basis of this process, the growth of society's productive forces, the change in the conditions and character of labour, the increase in its productivity.¹ The building up of the material and technical basis for communism ensures the possibilities for the elimination of essential differences between mental and physical labour, between town and country, results in a new social structure of society—the abolition of class differentiation and the emergence of social homogeneity in society on the basis of full social equality. In the process of building communism the level of awareness and organisation of all

¹ See: V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, "The State and Revolution", Vol. 25, pp. 357, 462.

members of society is raised, the observance of the rules of communist conduct becomes habitual with them, and the role of moral incentives to labour increases.

Besides the internal conditions—the construction of developed communist society—the external conditions: the general victory and consolidation of socialism on the international scene, are indispensable for the withering away of the state.

Until such conditions have been created the working class, the toiling masses are interested in the continued strengthening of the all-people's state, of the entire political organisation of socialist society, which are used for the purpose of building communism, safeguarding national security and defending the gains of socialism.

Lenin taught that any social phenomenon comprises remnants of the past, the basis for the present, and the rudiments of the future. The all-people's state preserves continuity from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, contains the rudiments of the future in the form of the public principles of self-government. The public principles in the activity of the socialist state apparatus are expressed, in particular, in that about 30 million Soviet citizens are associated today in voluntary organisations (house management committees, comradesly courts, public order squads, etc.), which are closely connected with the Soviets. Members of the public take part in the work of various departments of the executive bodies of the Soviets (house management, trade, public education, etc.). Various commissions and councils consisting of representatives of public organisations, specialists, research workers, etc., have been set up under Ministries and government departments. At the same time, the all-people's state is a political state, which is most important, and as such it is to be developed and strengthened, to fulfil its important and historically conditioned tasks and functions. The assertions made sometimes about the possibility and even the necessity of the transition or handover of some of these functions to other organisations are untenable theo-

retically and practically as long as the objective need for the existence of the state remains.

The functions of the socialist state express its essence. The history of the Soviet state has witnessed the cessation, the withering away of the function of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes. This process, however, was connected with the radical changes in the social and class structure of society in the process of socialist construction rather than with the handover of the functions of the state to public organisations.

The continued democratisation of the Soviet social and state system also finds expression in the enhancement of the role of public organisations, particularly such massive ones as the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and many other organisations and associations of the working people, professional unions and voluntary societies. This, however, does not belittle or diminish the role of the all-people's state but on the contrary multiplies its power as the main instrument of communist construction.



2. CPSU EXPERIENCE IN PROMOTING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Among the measures outlined by the 24th CPSU Congress for the continued enhancement of the role of the state and the entire political organisation of society in communist construction particularly great importance is attached to the promotion of socialist democracy.

Delivering the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 24th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "In our country, as everybody knows, the organs of people's power—the *Soviets of Working People's Deputies*—are the foundation of the socialist state and the fullest embodiment of its democratic nature. This, comrades, is a mighty force. Today they comprise over two million deputies, who administer the

affairs of our state of the entire people at all its levels. With them at the Soviets there is an army of 25 million activists, dedicated voluntary assistants."¹

The Soviets are the most massive, all-embracing organisation of the working people in the USSR. The representative bodies of the socialist state directly reflect the relations between classes and express the interests of all classes and social groups of society. They are invested with supreme state powers, perform the functions of government, form all the other organs of the socialist state and supervise their activities. The system of Soviets, based on the principles of democratic centralism, socialist legality, and embracing the entire country from top to bottom, guarantees the possibility of nationwide, planned guidance and management of economic and cultural development.

The main and decisive condition of the viability and strength of the system of Soviets is that the Communist Party, regarding them as the political basis of the USSR, invariably displayed concern for the Soviets being genuine organs of people's power. The Party sought to ensure that as far as their social composition, content, forms and methods of activity were concerned they should be actively involved in implementing the Party policy.

For all the immense advantages of the system of Soviets as compared with any parliamentary institution of a bourgeois republic the Party has never regarded them as a consummate and impeccable state organisation needing no further improvement. In "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" Lenin warned: "Nothing could be sillier than to transform the Soviets into something congealed and self-contained."²

The growing over of the state of proletarian dictatorship into an all-people's state in the USSR has been linked inseparably with the development and change of the Soviets.

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p. 93.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 275.

The adoption and promulgation of the Constitution of the USSR in 1936, the lifting of all franchise restrictions, the introduction of direct election by secret ballot meant a great stride in the development of socialist democracy. The change in the very name of the Soviets (they came to be called the Soviets of Working People's Deputies instead of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies) reflected the changes in the social and class structure of society, the socio-political unity of the people which had taken shape. The Constitution reaffirmed the experience accumulated in state construction, defined more clearly the jurisdiction of the supreme and local organs of state power, of the Union and autonomous republics, different autonomous national-state units. It affirmed the principle that the executive and administrative bodies of the Soviet state were subject to control of and accountable to the organs of state power.

The CPSU seeks to ensure that every election to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies contributes to the enhancement of the political and labour enthusiasm of the masses, to their involvement in the management of the affairs of state, in the accomplishment of the overall national tasks.

The nomination of candidates to the Soviets, electioneering, the formation of electoral commissions and ballot counting are carried out by public organisations of the working people and their representatives in accordance with the Constitution and the election Statute.

The re-election of the Soviets within terms established by the Constitution of the USSR enables wider strata of working people to be directly involved in the administration of state and to accumulate experience in administrative work. Every election campaign makes it possible to sum up the experience of the past, to analyse more profoundly the sentiments and interests of the electorate, to raise and discuss the new tasks in economic and cultural development, to expose shortcomings and outline ways of further improving the work of the Soviets, of strengthening their ties with the masses.

The Communist Party exercises political guidance of the preparations for and the implementation of the election campaigns to the Soviets, outlines the central tasks and directions of their activities in the forthcoming period. The Party is concerned with the most stringent observance of constitutional norms and requirements, civil rights and freedoms, the democratic principles of the formation of the organs of state power. The Party organisations direct all agitation and propaganda, explanatory work among the working people, using for this purpose all available facilities, above all, the mass media: the press, radio, etc.

Of great importance is the social, qualitative composition of the organs of state power formed by election. The Party committees, acting jointly with the trade unions, the YCL organisations, the working people's collectives, seek to ensure the nomination to the organs of people's power of the best representatives of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia. This has, in the final analysis, a decisive bearing on all the activities of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Critics of Soviet democracy, posing as champions of "full freedom" often accuse the CPSU of "interference" in the election campaigns, of "foisting" its candidates on the voters.

It is permissible to ask in this context if there is a political party that does not in general seek to influence the course and outcome of the election campaign? The chief reason why the bourgeois parties exist at all is to campaign for the election victory of their candidates representing the interests of a definite group of the bourgeoisie. Another argument, indisputable from the viewpoint of its authors, is that in elections to the Soviets the voters have no option, because the election platform is common for all, hence the candidates represent the same interests, are nominated and supported by one party.

The champions of bourgeois democracy should have known that the right to nominate candidates to the Soviets is en-

joyed not only by the Communist Party but also by all other mass public organisations—the trade unions, the YCL, co-operatives, voluntary associations and unions, working people's collectives. With the accepted practices, which have proved their effectiveness, representatives of Party, trade union and other organisations and associations of the working people come to terms about the nomination of common candidates from the Communist and non-Party bloc. The very possibility of such nomination of candidates for the supreme and local bodies of government is conclusive evidence of the socio-political unity of the Soviet people, the solidarity of the working masses and their public organisations in support of the Communist Party.

Indeed, in the Soviet Union election campaigns are conducted on the basis of a common and single electoral platform, which expresses the Communist Party policy. It is this policy that is supported by the candidates regardless of whether they are members of the Party or not. The results of the secret ballot in the election of deputies are not only the consent and approval by the electorate of a given candidate worthy of representing the working people in the bodies of government. It may be described as an extremely active and effective referendum of its own kind, in which the entire adult population expresses its attitude to the Communist Party policy. As is known, in all the elections held in the USSR in the post-war period over 99 per cent of the electorate went to the polls, and over 98 per cent of the ballots cast were in favour of the Communist and non-Party bloc candidates. Such high electoral activity is not to be found in any bourgeois country in the world. It is striking evidence of the high political awareness of the Soviet people, of their unanimous support for the electoral platform of the Communist and non-Party bloc.

It is not a question of how many parties contest the elections or how many platforms are offered to the electorate but of the interests a party represents and expresses in its electoral programme, the persons it nominates or supports

in the elections and, finally, the nature of the bodies of government to be elected.

The Soviet electorate are keenly sensitive to the candidates' personal qualities and their preparedness to strive for implementing the electoral programme. With the general high percentage of the vote for the candidates nominated there have been separate cases of candidates failing to obtain a majority vote. What is more, an electorate may recall a deputy by an established procedure before the end of his term. This occurs, as a rule, due to errors committed by Party or other public organisations in nominating a candidate. At the same time such instances also attest to the high exactingness of the electorate, the democratic character of the elections and the electoral system itself.

Following the election campaign the Communist Party shifts emphasis in the guidance of the Soviets onto the questions of organising their day-to-day practical activities.

The absence of division between the legislative and executive branches of government creates extremely favourable conditions for efficient work of the Soviets and their deputies. This government is not divided in the sense that the Soviets themselves make laws (within the range of their jurisdiction and in the forms established for each of their elements) and themselves enforce laws and administrative orders regulating a wide range of relations in the economic, socio-political and cultural fields.¹ In this sphere attention is focussed on the problems of organising work within the Soviets. This includes the preparation and holding of sessions, the activities of the deputies and standing commissions, control over and check up on the fulfilment of the injunctions of the executive and administrative bodies, involvement of activists.

¹ Summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Karl Marx underscored that, in contrast to a parliamentary republic, the Commune was formed as a working corporation making and enforcing laws at the same time (See: Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France". In:

The Party organisations do not interfere directly in the activities of the Soviets as bodies of government and in their current administrative work but these are subordinated, in the final analysis, to the objectives of the Party policy.

The CPSU lays down the general political line in the work of state organisations, reserving the right of control over and checking upon the fulfilment of its directives by all the organisations of the working people. It carries out the selection, placing and education of the personnel of the state apparatus, takes decisions on the key problems of the activities of the Soviets.

The questions of revising the structure of the state apparatus, of improving its style of performance, selection of personnel, questions referring to the supreme bodies of government, Ministries, government departments, State Committees are submitted on the initiative of the CC CPSU for discussion and decision to the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. On some of these questions, which are of crucial importance, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet or the Council of Ministers of the USSR work out and take joint decisions. For example, in April 1973, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers made public a joint resolution "On Certain Measures to Further Improve the Management of Industry". In compliance with the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU it provided for the changeover of industry to a two- and three-stage system of management, for stepping up efforts to promote concentration and co-operation in production—the establishment of giant associations and complexes in reckoning with the specific features of individual industries. The implementation of these measures marked further prog-

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 220). The councillors of the Commune not only discussed and passed decrees but were directly involved in their implementation. This principle, which Lenin appreciated particularly, was adopted and developed by the Soviet Republic.

ress in the continued development and reinforcement of the nationwide sectoral system of economic management.

The Communist Party regards it as its task to support any initiative useful to the common cause on the part of the Soviets, the supreme or local organs of state administration, to facilitate in every way the emulation and dissemination of advanced experience, new forms of activity of state and public organisations of the working people.

Over the past few years the role of the Soviets has grown, their rights have been widened and their decisions on questions of state administration have become more competent. This has largely been promoted by the increase in the total number of deputies to the Soviets, the election of the most active representatives of the working people. The number of workers elected to the local Soviets grew from 102,600 in 1939 to 896,400 in 1975. Among the deputies to the local Soviets elected in June 1975 there are 600,600 collective farmers, or 27.2 per cent of the total body of deputies, 664,800 persons under 30 (30.1 per cent), 1,064,000 women (48.1 per cent), 968,000 members and candidate members of the Party (43.8 per cent), representatives of almost all nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

Broad representation reflecting the social and class structure of socialist society is also characteristic of the membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the supreme body of state power of the country elected in June 1974 more than half (50.7 per cent) are workers and collective farmers; 31 per cent are women, and there are many young deputies; according to the Constitution all the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas are represented on the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.¹ The high educational and cultural standards

¹ The supreme organ of state power in the USSR—the USSR Supreme Soviet—consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The Soviet of the Union is elected from the electoral districts according to a uniform nationwide quota: one deputy for every 300,000 people. The Soviet of Nationalities is elect-

of the deputies are illustrated by these eloquent data: 53 per cent of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet have a higher or incomplete higher education, and 47 per cent, a secondary or incomplete secondary education.

No capitalist state is in a position to oppose these real facts of socialist reality with evidence illustrating the participation of representatives of the working people in bourgeois parliaments, in the bodies of government. To whitewash the situation in the capitalist countries and to discredit socialist democracy, to play down in every way or to deny completely its advantages, bourgeois ideologists make allusions to the increased sophistication of the management of production and all social processes in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution which allegedly generates a general "crisis of democracy". The essence of these arguments is that in the conditions of the developing scientific and technological revolution administration can allegedly be exercised only by the so-called "elite" strata of society, by professional parliamentarians, managers, "social engineers", etc., rather than by representatives of the working people, who are described as incapable of performing the functions of management.

This is nothing less than another instance of misrepresentation by bourgeois ideologists of the problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution, another attempt to substantiate the exclusive right to government and management on the part of big, monopoly capital and its servants in the state apparatus. These arguments are used to prove the "fictitiousness" or "ineffectiveness" of the participation of representatives of the working class and the peasantry in the supreme and local bodies of government, of the involvement of the working masses in the administration of the socialist state.

ed in accordance with the following quota of representation: 25 deputies from each Union Republic, 11 deputies from each Autonomous Republic, 5 deputies from each Autonomous Region, and one deputy from each National Area.

The untenability and anti-popular character of such bourgeois conceptions have been fully disproved by the theory and practices of socialism, under which socialist democracy is continuously developed. All complicated problems involved in the further development of society, including those of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, the development and application of new forms, characteristic of socialism, of integrating science and production, of raising its efficiency are solved with direct participation of the working people, by further enhancing the role of state and public organisations and labour collectives.

Many bourgeois political scholars deliberately ignore facts illustrating the steady advancement of the cultural levels of the entire Soviet people. The political maturity, good professional training and high cultural standards of representatives of the working class and the peasantry elected to the bodies of government reflect this process. As said in the foregoing, among the members to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies there are representatives of the people's intelligentsia, most of whom come from the midst of the workers and peasants, in particular specialists in various fields of science and technology, cultural workers, prominent statesmen and public leaders, who have accumulated immense experience in economic management and cultural activities.

Taking part in the day-to-day activities of the Soviets and their standing commissions¹ the overwhelming majority of the deputies learn the necessary skills in the management of state affairs; they carry on all their activities in close contact with a massive body of activists, with the electorate, heeding their advice and proposals. Collective discussions in the Soviets of problems pertaining to affairs of state and

¹ Standing commissions are set up both under the supreme organs of state power—the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics—and under the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies. In each of the chambers of the USSR

local life make it possible to solve them, taking advantage of the competence and experience of the deputies, to uncover latent reserves and possibilities, to ensure a rise in the efficiency of social production, the fulfilment of national economic plans, to improve the material, cultural and living conditions of the working people. The democratic principles in the organisation and activities of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies preclude a one-sided approach to solving crucial problems, rule out manifestations of parochialism and red tape, help detect shortcomings and devise effective measures to eliminate them.

The democratic, collective principles of solving problems facing the Soviets do not rule out but, on the contrary, imply a steady enhancement of the responsibility of the officials of the Soviet state apparatus for the fulfilment of the decisions taken. Lenin deemed it necessary that "every member of a Soviet should be obliged to carry out constant work in administering the state, alongside participation in meetings of the Soviet".² He emphasised the need to verify the

Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—fourteen standing commissions have been set up: for legislative proposals, for planning and budgeting, for foreign affairs, for youth affairs, for industry, for agriculture, for public health and social security, for public education, for science and cultural affairs, for environmental protection, etc.

Under the local Soviets there are about 327,000 standing commissions in which over 80 per cent of the total body of deputies are involved.

The standing commissions take part in preliminary discussions on questions to be submitted to the Soviets and their executive bodies, exercise control over the fulfilment of the decisions taken, etc. These commissions actually maintain continuity in the activities of the representative bodies of the socialist state during periods of recess, contribute to better organisation of the work of the deputies, to enhancing their activity and the role of the collective principles in the work of the Soviets, to improving permanent supervision of the agencies and economic organisations subordinated to the Soviets.

² V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)". *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 155.

fulfilment of the decisions taken in all the units of the Soviet state apparatus, to educate every official in the spirit of strict observance of state discipline, high responsibility for the performance of his duties to the broad masses of the working people. In verifying the fulfilment of the decisions taken an active role is played by the deputies themselves, by standing commissions, by the body of activists of the Soviets, by people's control groups, which have a membership of over 9 million today.

A deputy of a Soviet is a representative of the people invested with their full trust. He expresses the vital interests of the working people, which coincide with the interests of the all-people's state. In socialist society, therefore, there is no need to grant a deputy an exclusive, privileged status making him a professional parliamentarian as is the case in bourgeois republics. On the contrary, one of the major advantages of Soviet democracy is the fact that the vast majority of the deputies combine their government duties with the performance of their labour, occupational functions, work in factories and plants, on collective farms, in various organisations and institutions, and are always in the midst of the people. Therefore, the deputies are in a position to express the interests of their electorate as fully as possible. At the same time, a deputy of a Soviet is in need of being provided with such conditions in which he could obtain timely and full information on the state of affairs in the field of interest to him and requires a strict definition and complete guarantee of his rights.

In compliance with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1972 passed a law which considerably widened the powers of deputies and defined additional measures to safeguard the rights of deputies with constitutional guarantees. Thereby even more favourable conditions were created for the activities of the deputies of the Soviets at all levels, ranging from the village Soviets to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Over the past few years, the rights of the local Soviets

as plenipotentiary bodies of government have been considerably widened and the material and financial facilities of the executive committees of the village, district, and town Soviets have been improved. To increase the revenue side of the budgets and the funds at the disposal of the executive committees of these Soviets allocated for developing the municipal economy and improving the cultural and everyday services for the population, a number of enterprises formerly under republican, territorial and regional authority were additionally placed under the jurisdiction of the local Soviets. The executive committees of the Soviets are free to dispose of all the incomes received additionally in the performance of the budget, as well as of a share of the profits of enterprises under departments and economic organisations under republican and regional (territorial) jurisdiction, etc. The town Soviets are responsible for the management of the state housing stock and the utilities catering for the urban population.

The implementation of these measures means a further development of the democratic principles of the activities of the Soviets, creates additional material and legal prerequisites for the accomplishment of the tasks facing the local Soviets in the present stage of building communism.

During the ninth five-year plan period (1971-1975) Soviet industrial production grew 43 per cent, and fuel and energy supply was improved considerably. The output of electric power, oil, gas and coal was increased. The atomic power industry was further developed. The Soviet Union has become the world's biggest producer in many fields, such as coal, iron ore, steel, oil, cement, mineral fertilisers. The material and technological facilities of agriculture were advanced continually. Over the five-year period investments in this field amounted to 131,000 million rubles; a total of 1.7 million tractors, over 1.1 million lorries, 15,800 million rubles' worth of farm machines and a variety of other machinery were supplied to agriculture. Over 300 million tons of mineral fertilisers was supplied to collective and state farms.

Over the period, the national income increased by 28 per cent, and its total increment added up to 76,000 million rubles. About four-fifths of this increment was attributable to the advancement of the productivity of social labour. The growth in the national income made it possible to meet more completely the material and cultural requirements of Soviet people. Per capita real incomes grew by 24 per cent, the wages and salaries of factory and office workers, by an average of 20 per cent, and remuneration of collective farmers, by 25 per cent. At the same time, the state retail prices of manufactures and consumer goods remained stable. In the ninth five-year period a total of 544 million sq.m. of housing was built, which allowed 56 million people to improve their housing conditions. The transition to universal secondary education of young people was in the main completed. Keen attention was paid to advancing the cultural standards of the people, to improving conditions of work and recreation. Public health, physical culture and sports were further promoted. Measures in environmental protection were carried out on a wider scale than before.

Great efforts are being made by the Soviets to develop the municipal economy, to improve the cultural and everyday services of the population. The Soviets are directly involved, in effect, in handling every problem affecting the vital interests of the working people in town and country, including the questions of public amenities, trade, public education, public health, culture, etc. Take, for example, housing construction. Over the past few years alone, new residential districts with a full complex of social, everyday and cultural services have sprung up in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Vilnius, and dozens of other industrial cities and areas of the country. The number of newly-built apartment houses, childcare and cultural institutions is particularly great in the regions and districts of Siberia, the Urals and Central Asia.

The further improvement in the activities of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies is a major factor of advanc-

ing the management of economic and social processes, of strengthening the socio-political unity of the Soviet people.

The system of socialist democracy incorporates not only the Soviets, the bodies of state power, but also a ramified network of mass public organisations, such as the trade unions, the Young Communist League, co-operatives and other associations, unions and societies of the working people.

The role of the trade unions has grown immensely in the new stage of communist construction. Aided by the trade unions, the working class exercises control over the activities of economic bodies and their management directing production on the principle of one-man command. The rights of the trade unions have been widened considerably, and their responsibility enhanced in the fields of production planning and organisation, safety engineering, wages and salaries, control over the observance of labour legislation, social insurance, cultural and everyday services of factory and office workers. Improvement in the forms of management of industry, enhancement of the material and moral incentives for production workers and labour collectives involve further development of the initiative of the masses, improvement in the activities of the trade unions in the communist education of the masses, in the direction of socialist emulation.

In the resolution "On the Further Improvement of the Organisation of Socialist Emulation" of 1971, the Central Committee of the CPSU revealed the specific features and significance of emulation in the present stage of communist construction, defined the tasks and the role of Party, trade union and other public organisations in the guidance of this important work. The Central Committee proceeded from Lenin's idea of socialist emulation, from an analysis of the immense experience gained by the working people of the USSR. Lenin directly connected an upsurge in emulation with the development of socialist democracy, with involvement of the working people in the administration of state and the management of social production. He noted in this

context: "And it is precisely the Soviet form of organisation, by ensuring transition from the formal democracy of the bourgeois republic to real participation of the mass of working people in *administration*, that for the first time puts competition on a broad basis. It is much easier to organise this in the political field than in the economic field; but for the success of socialism, it is the economic field that matters."¹

The economic policy of the Party in the present stage is creating particularly favourable conditions for the development of socialist emulation. The Communist Party seeks to step up the rates of building up the material and technical basis for communism, to secure a comprehensive utilisation of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, an increase in the efficiency of social production. State and public organisations, as well as labour collectives as the basic cells of socialist society, are called upon to play an immense part in the accomplishment of these tasks.

In addition to the Soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League as the most mass organisations, a great role is played by other associations, unions and societies of the working people which have been called to life by the new material and cultural requirements of the members of socialist society. The high level of culture and technical competence of the working class, the growth of numerous sections of the Soviet intelligentsia are the most important conditions for the creative activity and the initiative of the masses. Scientific and technical societies, united by the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, the All-Union Rationalisers' Society, the All-Union Society Znaniye (Knowledge), the professional unions of writers, composers, artists, cinematographers, journalists and other

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 259-60.

numerous professional organisations have been set up and are operating successfully in the USSR.

All this is evidence to the effect that the system of socialist democracy is continuously developing on the basis of changes in the country's economic, socio-political and cultural life, expressing the interests of the broadest sections of the working people, of all social strata and groups of socialist society.

Of special importance in this matter is the comprehensive use of democratic establishments and institutions, of the rights and freedoms based on material guarantees for increasingly broader involvement of the working people in the management of production, in the affairs of every production collective. Addressing a meeting of the electorate of Moscow's Baumansky electoral district in 1974, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, stated: "Democracy is just an empty word if it does not cover the surroundings in which the person does his daily work, applies his creative energy. It is therefore of fundamental importance to strengthen democratic principles in production."

Within production collectives working people take part in solving vital problems involved in the internal routine, the organisation of production itself, labour processes, the social and cultural services of the collective as well as in heightening the role of labour collectives in the life of the entire socialist society.

The enemies of socialism searching for "flaws" in socialist democracy express sham concern about the alleged absence of freedom of the individual under socialism, his "suppression" by the collective, by various organisations. They seek to present matters in such a way as if the widening of the rights and the enhancement of the role of state and public organisations, of labour collectives in the Soviet Union are detrimental to the interests of the individual, the individual rights of man.

The actual state of affairs gives the lie to such allegations. Participation in the activities of state and public or-

ganisations, in voluntary unions and associations enables Soviet people to enjoy their rights and freedoms as fully as possible and to express their interests. The socio-political activity of the working people contributes to the improvement of the performance of the collectives and organisations, the use of these organisations for the accomplishment of the goals of the whole of society, and also serves as an important and indispensable condition for the all-round development of the individual, for enhancing the role and social importance of every individual in the socialist state.

The line of the CPSU towards the development of Soviet democracy, the improvement of the system of the Soviets, of the entire state apparatus, the promotion of the interaction of state and public organisations of the working people and the enhancement of their role in communist construction meets the tasks and goals of building communism. The Party has emphasised that the drive to build communism cannot be separated from the all-round development of socialist democracy, the consolidation of the Soviet state, the improvement of the entire system of society's political organisation. The experience gained by the CPSU in this field is of worldwide historic significance, primarily because it is based on the application of the general laws of socialist and communist construction.

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3. THE GROWING ROLE OF THE CPSU IN THE LEADERSHIP OF STATE CONSTRUCTION

The leading role of the Communist Party in the field of state construction is determined by its place in the life of socialist society and is a law of building socialism and communism.

The CPSU Programme indicates several objectively op-

erating and interconnected factors responsible for the enhancement of the role of the Communist Party in the current period. These are, in the first place, the widening scale of communist construction, the emergence of more complicated tasks demanding a higher level of political and organisational guidance. The increase in the Party's role in the life of Soviet society is also attributable to the upsurge in the creative activity of the masses, the involvement of millions of new working people in the management of the affairs of state and production, the continued development of socialist democracy, the growing importance of the theory of scientific communism, the need for its creative development and propaganda, the tasks in the communist education of the working people.¹

In exercising its guidance of communist construction, the Party brings into play all the social forces existing in society, encourages the creative energies of the masses and directs them along a common course, using in the process the advantages of socialism, of its social and state system. Analysis of the social and class structure of society, the general trends in its further development, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, of the socio-political unity of the Soviet people is regarded by the Communist Party as one of the major tasks of its policy in the guidance of the Soviet state.

The formation and consolidation of the socio-political unity of Soviet society, the emergence of a new historical community of people—the Soviet people—are the greatest achievement of socialism. However, the achievement and consolidation of this unity do not make the class, political relations simpler. The existence of classes under socialism is attributable to the survival of remnants of social inequality, the existence of differences between mental and physical labour, between town and country. Owing to the existence of two classes, even though they are identical as regards their social nature, definite contradictions remain in socialist

¹ See *The Road to Communism*, pp. 582-84.

society but they are not antagonistic in character. With the general coincidence of the vital economic and cultural interests of the working people's classes and social groups in socialist society, there still exist differences in their specific interests. Contradictions also manifest themselves in the discordance between the growing material requirements of society and the possibility of their complete satisfaction.

Changes are taking place not only in the character and forms of expression of contradictions but also in methods of resolving them in the process of building communism. The decisive role in this field is played by the scientifically grounded policy of the Communist Party, the conscious, purposive activities of the state and public organisations.

In the process of communist construction the classes tend to draw closer together and the intra-class differences, as well as the differences between the classes and the intelligentsia are gradually erased. The Party, however, cannot hope for a spontaneous completion of this process, and pursue its activities proceeding exclusively from the ultimate results of this process. The law of the drawing closer together of classes, the development of socialist society in the direction of full social uniformity operates as a tendency, as the general and main trend of the development and change of the social and class structure. Until this process is completed, the classes and the complex intra-class structure will remain in society.

The Communist Party proceeds from the actual state of affairs and pursues its activities with an eye to the immediate and ultimate objectives of the most advanced class in socialist society—the working class, the interests of the peasantry, of all the working people coinciding with them, as well as the specific interests of individual groups and sections of the Soviet people.

The Party's policy in the conditions of developed socialism is expressed in long-term and current plans of the country's social, economic and cultural development, in forecasting social development, and is implemented with the aid

of the Soviet Government, the entire political system of Soviet society.

The historical task, put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress, of combining organically the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, of developing more broadly its characteristic forms of fusing science and production, is closely linked with the continued improvement of the management of the economy, of all social processes taking place in society. The application of the most up-to-date achievements of science and technology in production, automation and all-round mechanisation influence the internal structure of the working class and the peasantry. Within the working class an increase is in evidence in the proportion of highly qualified workers, whose cultural standards, technical competence as well as the character of the functions they perform are drawing close to those of engineers and technicians. Industrialisation of agriculture results in a growth in the numbers of machine-operators, in the appearance of new specialities. Scientific and technological progress leads to a rapid rise in the numbers of engineers and technicians. At the same time, within the working class and to a still greater extent within the peasantry there remain categories of workers of average and even low qualifications.

The Communist Party, on the basis of its scientifically grounded policy, which takes account of the social and class structure of society, the interests and specific features of every class and social group, secures the continued consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the socio-political unity of the people.

The building up of the material and technical basis for communism is the central task of the Party, the Soviet Government, the whole people in the present stage of communist construction. To accomplish this task the Party is pressing for a fundamental improvement in the operation of government and economic bodies, searching for and testing in practice new forms of socialist economic management,

involving the state and public organisations of the working people in the implementation of its policy.

The economic policy of the Party is aimed not only at achieving high indicators in the development of social production but also at advancing all forms of social relations, at securing definite results in social development. They imply, in the first place, the all-round development of the individual, of all the workers employed in socialist production.

Thus, the reforms in the economic sphere have played a crucial role in stimulating the growth of labour productivity, in ensuring greater material interest of the collectives and workers of socialist enterprises in their labour results. The continued improvement of the methods of socialist management, the more active application of material and moral incentives to labour guarantee greater interest of all social groups in a further rise of labour productivity, in improving quality, and contribute to the advancement of the cultural standards, technical competence, qualifications, the social and production activities of all categories of workers.

The goal proclaimed by socialism and being translated into life is the satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of all members of society. The high rates of growth of socialist production, the rise in its efficiency, the accelerated growth of labour productivity, are the basis for the accomplishment of the main task advanced by the CPSU for the coming period: to ensure a substantial rise in the material and cultural standards of life of the people. The economic and social policies of the Party are directed at providing the material and spiritual prerequisites for communism.

The activities of the Party and the government in raising the standards of life of the working people have assumed a particularly broad scale during the past decade when new economic possibilities were created by the rapid growth of social production. Work has got underway on an unprecedented scale to improve the quality of housing con-

struction, to develop the municipal services, to improve the amenities in towns and villages throughout the country so as to ensure a continued rise in the standards of the cultural and everyday services of the population.

In pursuing its line towards an all-round improvement in the well-being of the people, the Party attaches major importance to raising the living standards of the sections of the working people within low-income brackets.

The increase in the social consumption funds makes it possible to make bonus payments and grant benefits to working people, most of which are largely irrespective of the quantity and quality of the labour inputs of the recipients. This implies free medical service, free regular and advanced training, accommodation at sanatoria and holiday homes free of charge or on discount, pensions and other allowances and benefits. During the ninth five-year plan period, the minimum pension rates have been raised at the expense of social consumption funds for factory and office workers and collective farmers, and the pension benefits for the families of servicemen and the families which have lost the breadwinner have been improved. Maintenance grants to students of higher educational establishments, secondary technical and vocational schools have been increased. Maternity grants have been instituted for expectant mothers at the rate of their full monthly earnings irrespective of working record. Cash allowances for the maintenance of children have been introduced for families with an income of 50 rubles and less per member. During four years of the ninth five-year plan period, the increases in pensions, maintenance grants and other payments have resulted in greater incomes for 30 million people. On the whole, an average family of four members received from the social consumption funds in 1974 an average of 1,300 rubles as compared with 1,000 rubles in 1970.

The growing welfare of the Soviet people creates the necessary conditions for a continued advancement of the general cultural standards, occupational training and techni-

cal competence of every working man and woman, for an all-round development of the individual.

The building up of the material and technical basis for communism, the advancement of socialist social relations, the all-round development of the individual are interrelated and interdependent processes, in which the material factor, naturally, holds pride of place. The policy of the CPSU is called upon to ensure on the basis of strict compliance with the objective laws of communist construction an organic combination of all its aspects and processes, a planned and harmonious development of the whole society.

The CPSU, which directs the activities of the state organs, the entire political organisation of society, warns against a utilitarian pragmatic approach to the accomplishment of urgent tasks, seeks to exert conscious and purposive influence on all the aspects of the process of communist construction. The Party declares that the scientific concepts of communism have nothing in common either with the hypocritical "philosophy" of poverty as a "blessing" or with the bourgeois philistine cult of things material. In Marxist-Leninist understanding material values are produced to meet the reasonable requirements of man and are an indispensable prerequisite for the development of human abilities and the flourishing of the individual.

The advantages of the socialist economic system based on socialist property create the necessary prerequisites for the planned, comprehensive, balanced development of socialist society, for implementing the scientifically grounded policy of the Communist Party.

This does not imply, of course, that in the conditions of developed socialism economic and cultural progress meets with no difficulties or obstacles. Many of them are generated by objective causes of an external and internal character, as well as by shortcomings and errors in the work of Party, government and economic bodies, i.e., by subjective factors.

Under developed socialism there are no organised class forces opposing the general trends in society's progressive de-

velopment. Even in this stage of socialism, however, there are survivals of the past. They are manifest in violations by individual citizens of the standards of socialist law and morality, of the rules of socialist conduct, labour discipline, in neglect of their duty to society. Experience has demonstrated that with a let-up in the ideological and educational work of Party organisations, flaws in the operation of the state apparatus, the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology through the numerous channels of the mass media may stimulate a revival of these vestiges, their manifestation in various forms.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union takes account of both the internal tendencies of social development and the specific features of the external conditions. In the present stage there has been a sharp increase in the importance of such forms of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism as the economic, scientific and technological competition between the two opposing world systems, the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology. These factors influence social life under socialism and also necessitate the continued enhancement of the role of the Communist Party as the leader and guiding force of society.

The enhanced role of the CPSU in the leadership of the Soviet state is expressed in the comprehensive solution of vital problems arising in this field. The experience accumulated by the Party enables it to connect more boldly and confidently the current tasks in state construction, improvement of individual elements of the socialist political system with the solution of long-term tasks of developing the Soviet state.

This is most strikingly illustrated by the application of the principle of democratic centralism in the field of state construction and administration. It implies election of the representative organs of state power from top to bottom; formation of the organs of state administration by the representative institutions; accountability and responsibility of the deputies of the Soviets to the electorate; accountability

and subordination of the executive and administrative bodies to the Soviets; management of the affairs of state from a common centre, subordination of peripheral bodies to central authority, of lower to higher government bodies; provision of the requisite conditions for all-round development of local initiative, the creative activity of the masses and their organisations in implementing the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The observance of these conditions guarantees the genuinely democratic character of the Soviet state, the involvement of all working people in the administration of state and the management of all affairs of socialist society. As to organisation, the principle of democratic centralism makes it possible to join all the elements of the Soviets into a uniform system of organs of state power, making the entire state apparatus flexible and adapted to the fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction. This principle enables combination of the active and direct participation of the working masses in the management of social production, of all social processes with the responsibility of government and economic bodies and executives for the performance of their duties.

Describing the importance and necessity of further improvement of leadership and management under present conditions, L. I. Brezhnev said: "This is essentially a matter of how best to organise the activity of society in accelerating economic and social development, in ensuring the fullest use of the available possibilities, and in rallying ever closer together hundreds of thousands of collectives, and tens of millions of working people round the main aims of the Party's policy. Consequently, questions relating to management affect not only a narrow circle of executives and specialists, but all Party, government and economic organisations and all collectives of working people. This means that improvement of management is an important component part of the Party's entire activity in directing the economy."¹

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 78-79.

The leader of the Soviet Communists emphasised that "improvement of the system of management is not an ad hoc measure but a dynamic process of solving problems brought up by life".¹

In the conditions of developed socialist society where a democratic system of state management of all social processes has taken shape and become consolidated, red tape, formalism, violations of socialist legality and discipline on the part of individual government bodies and officials are particularly intolerable. Such phenomena have an adverse effect on the entire political system, discrediting it in the eyes of the working masses, often causing material and sometimes political damage to the cause of state construction, the development of socialist democracy.

For the purpose of eliminating in good time defects in the operation of the state apparatus, raising the responsibility of all institutions and executives the CPSU has established and is steadily strengthening a system of all-embracing control over their activities on the part of the people.

The development of socialist statehood requires an especially accurate scientific approach to problems arising in this field. Subjectivism, haste, all sorts of unjustified reorganisation of the apparatus are fraught with grave consequences, causing damage to the entire cause of state construction. The quest and application of new forms of administration, just as all organisational measures in this field in general are directed to creating more favourable conditions for encouraging the initiative of the administrative staffs, for strengthening their ties with the masses, for contributing to the enhancement of their role and responsibility for the fulfilment of Party directives.

The growth of the role of the CPSU in guiding the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, all the organs of the socialist state has nothing in common with substitution of Party organisations for them. The Party is opposing with determination violations of the principles of Party leadership

¹ Ibid., p. 80.

of the Soviets and other government bodies on the part of individual Party committees, the practices of petty tutelage over them, because this leads to a weakening of the responsibility of officials of the state apparatus and handicaps their initiative. Such practices, which are connected with the departure of some local Party bodies from the generally accepted rules, prevent Party organisations from exercising leadership of various elements of the state apparatus by their specific Party methods, from analysing profoundly the essence of the activities of administrative personnel, interfere with their education in the spirit of high personal responsibility for the performance of their duties.

The Party gives keen attention to raising the ideological levels, theoretical competence and qualifications of officials of the state apparatus. The selection, appointment and education of government staffs are a very essential and concrete manifestation of the Party's leading role in state construction.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has set up a broad network of schools and courses for regular and advanced training of Party and government officials: the Higher Party School, the republican and regional Party schools, a system of special courses for advanced training of leading Party, government, trade union and Komsomol executives. In the period between 1966 and 1971 alone the Party schools and the schools for government and Party executives trained 33 thousand persons. Over the same period, about 200 thousand leading Party cadres and government officials were retrained at special courses.

The Party has placed all work in the training and education of cadres, specialists in all the fields of economic and cultural development on a nationwide planned basis. It is using for these purposes the system of higher schools. As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, in the period 1971-1975 another 40,000 people were trained in the Party schools alone. Over 230,000 Party and local government executives went through a course of advanced training. The Communist

Party attaches special importance to their Marxist-Leninist education, to raising their ideological, theoretical and political levels.

Officials of the state apparatus are trained not only in institutions of higher learning, at special schools and courses but also in the process of their day-to-day practical work. All the activities of Party organisations in the government bodies, Soviets and economic institutions are subordinated, in the final analysis, to this task. Presenting concrete examples, analysing and summing up the experience available, the Party organisations foster in government officials a feeling of high responsibility for the performance of their duties, seek to create an atmosphere of innovation in the collectives, encourage useful initiative, check upon the fulfilment of the tasks outlined.

The Communist Party orients officials of the state apparatus on the emulation of experience and revolutionary traditions in socialist construction in conjunction with the further development of initiative and creative quests directed to the fulfilment of new tasks. The Party is the repository of this experience which has absorbed the creative initiative of the multimillioned masses of working people. The Party passes on this experience to new generations of active builders of communism, develops and enriches the revolutionary traditions of struggle for the fulfilment of the historic mission of the working class.

In the period of communist construction, still greater significance is attached to the theoretical work of the CPSU. This is dictated by the need for scientific analysis of the process of communist construction, the discovery and application jointly with the fraternal parties of new laws governing the development of the world socialist system and the world revolutionary process. On the basis of its profound theoretical generalisations and conclusions the Communist Party plans the home and foreign policies of the Soviet state.

The Party's theoretical work in the field of state construction has found expression in the further development

of the theory of socialist state, of socialist democracy. The Communist Party has formulated and substantiated the conclusion on the development of the state of proletarian dictatorship into an all-people's state in conditions of the full triumph of socialism, on the development of proletarian democracy into the all-people's democracy of developed socialist society. This conclusion has furnished the theoretical basis for implementing politically and practically important measures to enhance the role of the Soviet state in communist construction, to develop socialist democracy comprehensively. The Party has set the guidelines for developing socialist statehood in the conditions of communist construction, outlined the key tasks and defined the main functions of the Soviet all-people's state.

The conclusions of the CPSU on the need for the utmost strengthening of the Soviet all-people's state were another major contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist statehood. The question of strengthening the Soviet state, of developing socialist democracy is among the most important theoretical and practical problems of principle being solved in the Soviet Union with due regard to the specific features of the new stage of communist construction. The presentation and solution of this question are closely linked with the implementation of the long-term economic and social policy of the CPSU, with the content of the breathtaking programme of communist construction in the USSR, as well as with the fulfilment of the Peace Programme, the foreign policy activities of the Soviet state.

The new stage of communist construction in the USSR is characterised, above all, by the growing scale of and qualitative changes in the national economy, the increased economic potential, the rapidly developing scientific and technological revolution, the intensified process of economic integration of socialist countries, the new conditions of the economic, scientific and technological competition between the two world systems—socialism and capitalism. In this situation, the

role and significance of the scientifically grounded, purposive influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the entire political organisation of socialist society, on the economic and social processes, on the creation of the material and spiritual prerequisites for society's successful advance have become greater than ever before.

The current stage of communist construction is characterised not only by the objective demand for a continued rise in the material and cultural levels of life of the people but also by the availability of new opportunities for the accomplishment of this central task on the basis of advancing the level of scientific direction and management, of increasingly broader involvement of the working people in the administration of the Soviet state, the management of the affairs of socialist society. The Party has outlined concrete measures to promote the further development of Soviet democracy, to improve socialist legislation and the state apparatus, indicated the ways of strengthening legality, law and order, the state security agencies and the Armed Forces of the Soviet state.

The 24th and 25th congresses raised and solved in their documents and decisions a number of fundamental problems involved in the improvement of the system of economic management, the operation of the economic mechanism, and revealed the political aspect of these questions. Special attention was paid to further steps to raise the scientific level of management and improve planning. This implies continued perfection of the methods of planning, a widening of its horizons, implementation of long-term planning and forecasting of economic development to ensure co-ordination of long-term plans for 15 to 20 years with five-year and annual plans. All this made it necessary in turn to improve the organisational structure of state administration, to specify the functions of government bodies, to enhance the role and improve the operation of the State Planning Committee and other government bodies, to increase the concentration of production, to set up still larger associations and industrial

complexes as the main self-sustained units of social production.

The Party congresses emphasised the significance of the labour collective as the main cell of Soviet society, its role in the formation of new, socialist traits in the working people, and its place within the system of socialist democracy. The importance of labour collectives for involving working people in production management, in cultural affairs is directly attributable to the broad rights and realistic opportunities available for this in the conditions of developed socialism.

The definition by the 24th CPSU Congress of the essential traits and specific features of developed socialism, of the new stage in communist construction was of fundamental importance for the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks facing the Party at the present stage, in the field of guidance of state construction in particular, is largely dependent on further steps to strengthen the Party itself, to develop inner-Party democracy, to improve the organisational structure and enhance the role of primary Party cells in all the fields of economic and cultural work. Of great importance is the advancement of the ideological, theoretical and political levels of Communists, of their responsibility for the common cause of the Party, the strengthening of its ties with the working class, with all working people.

The measures outlined and being implemented by the CPSU to enhance the role of the Soviet all-people's state, the entire political organisation of society reflect the urgent requirements of the new stage of communist construction. They are motivated by the need to bring the political system of society into full conformity with the character and specific features of developed socialism with an eye to the prospects of its further advance towards communism.

The CPSU has invariably regarded all its political and theoretical work as closely, inseparably linked with the ful-

filment of its internationalist duty to the world communist movement, the international working class, all fighters against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

4. THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIES AND EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE BETWEEN THE FRATERNAL PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The world socialist system is developing in conformity with the general laws which operate on a national and international scale, and are characteristic of the community of socialist nations as an integral socio-economic and political system uniting sovereign socialist states.

The advantages of socialism are attributable to the establishment of the socialist economic system based on socialist property, to the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties guided by the theory of scientific communism and the principles of socialist internationalism. These advantages provide the objective and subjective prerequisites for the purposive application of general laws both within each country in accordance with its specific features and within the world socialist system as a whole.

The experience in the international co-operation between the socialist countries corroborates the viability of the principles of international relations of the new, socialist type, the tendency, substantiated by Lenin, "...towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole..."¹ The development of this tendency is dependent immensely on the conscious and purposive activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties. They organise relations of international co-operation and mutual assistance between socialist countries, elaborate and pursue policies taking account of both the general and specific interests of their peoples, the immediate and long-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147.

term tasks in developing each of these countries and the world socialist system as a whole.

Historical experience shows that a weakening, however slight, of the leading role of the Communist Party results in grave setbacks for socialist construction, and, with definite internal and external conditions, threatens the gains of socialism. This was the case in Hungary in 1956. A real danger of this kind also arose during the crisis developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The document "Lessons of Crisis Developments" adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1970 shows how the Right-wing opportunist and anti-socialist forces inside the country, with support from imperialism, created a situation in which "*the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as the supreme organ of the Party in the period between congresses and its executive organs ceased to perform their functions as the central headquarters in the cause of developing socialist society and defending its revolutionary gains*".¹ It was necessary to mobilise all the loyal forces of the CPCz, the working class, all working people, which, leaning on internationalist assistance from the fraternal socialist countries, succeeded in preventing a further deterioration of the crisis and frustrated the plans of the internal and external counterrevolution. Analysing its own experience in building socialism and drawing conclusions from the crisis developments of 1968, the Central Committee of the CPCz emphasised the universal importance of the laws and principles of socialism, above all, of the necessity to strengthen the leading role of the Communist Party in the life of society.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Communist and Workers' parties, as shown by the experience of the

¹ *Lessons of Crisis Developments in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz*, Document adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPCz in December 1970, Moscow, 1971, pp. 33, 37 (in Russian).

USSR and other socialist countries, is accounted for by the operation of the general laws and principles of socialism, by the interests of the working class, all working people, and is one of the decisive prerequisites for success in the building of socialism and communism, a safe guarantee of the stability of socialist gains. In the process of all-round co-operation between socialist states they gain collective experience which is a potent factor of success in the construction of the new society.

Co-operation in the political field helps strengthen the socio-political and ideological unity of the socialist community of nations, broaden their exchange of experience in state construction, in the multifarious activities of the state and public organisations of the working people.

In setting the guidelines for the activities of the socialist state, taking account of the experience of the CPSU, the Communist and Workers' parties pay close attention to its foreign policy functions, particularly to the promotion of relations of co-operation, friendship and mutual assistance with all the fraternal countries. Relations between socialist states are a new type of political and economic relations. Their joint efforts to draw up inter-state treaties, legislation and acts on co-operation in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields, their concern for a timely fulfilment of their commitments, all contribute to the co-ordinated activities of socialist states, enable them to emulate each other's experience more fruitfully and to implement the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties with greater success.

The experience of the CPSU in guiding the foreign policy activities of the Soviet state is assimilated by the fraternal parties, serves the interests of the world socialist system as a whole, is developed and enriched by the collective efforts of all Marxist-Leninist parties. A new illustration of this is the struggle to implement the Peace Programme drawn up by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The policy of active defence of peace and strengthening international security,

which is being pursued successfully by the CPSU and the Soviet state, is supported by the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries. On the basis of this policy they plan collectively the foreign policy line of the socialist states, carry into effect important measures on the international scene, wage a consistent and determined struggle against intrigues and subversion on the part of the imperialist circles, support the peoples fighting for democracy, national independence and social progress.

The CPSU, just as the other Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, works out actively the problems involved in the development of the world socialist system, takes part in the settlement of practical problems arising within the socialist community. Delivering the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "The CC's attention has been constantly centred on questions of further cohesion and development of the world socialist system, and relations with the fraternal socialist countries and their Communist Parties."¹ The congress analysed and generalised the historic experience that the socialist world gave to the entire communist and working-class movement. The congress documents demonstrate the results of co-operation between the CPSU and the Communist parties of the fraternal countries, their mutual enrichment with experience in all the fields of socialist theory and practice, in co-ordination of their foreign policy activities, in the cause of socialist economic integration.

Co-operation between socialist countries contributes to an increase in the efficiency of social production, the rates of economic development of each of them. Between 1951 and 1971, the national income grew 530 per cent in Bulgaria, 220 per cent in Hungary, 320 per cent in the GDR, 300 per cent in Poland, 570 per cent in Rumania, 460 per cent in the Soviet Union, 230 per cent in Czechoslovakia. In the period from 1950 to 1972, industrial production in the

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 9.

CMEA member countries grew eightfold, and in the economically developed capitalist countries, only threefold. The share of the CMEA member countries in world industrial output grew from 18 per cent in 1950 to 33 per cent in 1970, and in the world national income, from 15 to 25 per cent. The CMEA member countries have grown into a giant industrial complex. Their share in world industrial production is greater than that of the USA and roughly 70 per cent larger than that of the capitalist countries of Western Europe.

The economic, social and class changes in the fraternal socialist countries required the continued development of the state, of socialist democracy, improvement in the ways and means of leadership and management of all social processes. As demonstrated by the experience of the USSR and other countries, the building up of the foundation of socialism does not by itself dispose of the difficulties and non-antagonistic contradictions in social production, in socialist social relations. The need to maintain the high rates of balanced development of large-scale socialised production based on a uniform type of socialist property, especially in the conditions of the developing scientific and technological revolution, requires an advancement of the standards of scientific management. A correct understanding and application of the general laws of socialism are crucial to the present and future of the national economy, to a success in solving the political, nationwide tasks, and, in the final analysis, to the achievement of the main goal of socialist production—the satisfaction of the steadily growing material requirements of the working people.

In many of the socialist countries, just as in the USSR, economic reforms have been devised on the initiative of the Communist and Workers' parties, and are in the process of implementation. Their main purpose is to take account of and use the objective economic laws of socialism as fully as possible, to improve planning, to combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the ad-

vantages of socialism, to ensure on this basis an increase in the efficiency of social production, and a growth in labour productivity. In drawing up new five-year plans, contemplating concrete measures to improve the state apparatus, to advance the standards of scientific management of the national economy and cultural development, the Communist and Workers' parties analyse and emulate the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Speaking at the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, said: "We believe that for the continued improvement of management and planning it is very important to make broad use of the long-standing experience and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union in the cause of socialist and communist construction. This requires conscientious fulfilment of the agreements signed and further extension of co-operation and exchange of experience with our Soviet friends. We are determined to widen our exchange of experience with other countries of the socialist community as well."¹

The fraternal Communist and Workers' parties focus their attention on the creative application of the experience of the CPSU in advancing the principle of democratic centralism in state and economic development. They are effectively applying the principles of material and moral incentives of workers and collectives of enterprises, developing socialist emulation, carrying out measures to widen the rights and raise the responsibility of government and economic bodies and their leading executives. As evidenced by the congresses of these parties held in the first half of the 1970s, the Communist and Workers' parties are consistently pursuing a policy of further consolidation of socialist states, of widening socialist democracy.

¹ Willi Stoph, "Report on the Directive of the 8th Congress of the SUPG for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the GDR, 1971-1975", *Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 1971, 19 June, S. 7.

Systematic co-operation in the political and economic spheres has become an inalienable component of the activities of socialist states directed by the Communist and Workers' parties. Since 1956 the CMEA member countries have been co-ordinating their national economic plans. Over the period the socialist countries have strengthened considerably the economic foundation of socialism, developed the socialist economic system, achieved definite results in implementing economic reforms, accumulated positive experience in drawing up and co-ordinating five-year plans, in specialisation and co-operation on the basis of the socialist division of labour between the CMEA member countries.

Speaking at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev said in this context: "However, like other members of CMEA, we believe that the possibilities of the socialist division of labour are not yet being fully used. Practice has led us up to this common conclusion: it is necessary to deepen specialisation and co-operation of production, and to tie in our national economic plans more closely, that is, to advance along the way of the socialist countries' economic integration."¹

The main directions of socialist economic integration, just as the need to draw up a long-term comprehensive programme, were defined by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of the CMEA member countries meeting at the 23rd session of CMEA in 1969. All the preparatory work culminated in the adoption by the 25th session of CMEA in July 1971 of the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration.

"The development of socialist economic integration by the CMEA member countries is a process that is consciously and systematically regulated by the Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of the CMEA member countries. It is a process of the international socialist division of la-

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 13.

bour, the drawing closer of their economies and the formation of modern, highly effective national economic structures, of a gradual drawing closer and evening out of their economic development levels, a formation of deep and enduring ties in the basic branches of the economy, science and technology, an expansion and consolidation of the international market of these countries and an improvement of commodity-money relations."¹

It is underscored in the Comprehensive Programme that "the further extension and improvement of co-operation and the development of socialist economic integration by the CMEA member countries shall continue to be implemented in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism, on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance".² Thus, the extension of ties between the Communist and Workers' parties, the planning and implementation by them of a joint policy of promoting socialist integration do not imply negation of the national historical distinctions of socialist states.

The Comprehensive Programme provides for joint fundamental research and development by scientific institutions and scientists of socialist countries, for accelerating the process of application of the latest scientific and technological achievements in social production.

The process of socialist integration is bound to contribute to the continued development of the creative, constructive functions of the socialist state. Already in the present stage of economic co-operation, the sovereign socialist states which are members of CMEA are developing activities in a number of interrelated fields. This implies, above all, co-opera-

¹ *Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member Countries*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 14-15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

tion in the planning field, which includes co-ordination of national economic plans, transition to joint planning of individual types of production and complete sectors of the national economy, as well as joint forecasting of economic development. A system of co-operation in planned organisation of international specialisation and co-operation in production has taken shape and is in process of perfection. A system of scientific and technological co-operation on a bilateral and multilateral basis has been set up and is being extended. Measures are being taken to pool efforts for the joint construction of large production projects of mutual interest. International production-economic organisations and economic associations are being formed and developed, in particular, the unified power grid "Mir", "Intermetal", the Organisation for Co-operation in the Bearings Industry, the Freight Cars Pool, etc. Such forms of organisations and associations actively contribute to co-operation and specialisation in production, ensure high efficiency of the international socialist division of labour. An international credit and banking system has been set up and is in process of development. Its foundation was laid by the establishment of the International Bank of Economic Co-operation and the International Investment Bank of the CMEA member countries, and work is under way to improve the mechanism of co-ordinating the principles and practices of applying commodity-money instruments (prices, rates of exchange, currency convertibility, clearing accounts, etc.). Co-operation is steadily growing between government departments, sectoral Ministries, economic bodies, scientific institutions and industrial enterprises with a view to promoting co-operation and advancing its effectiveness.

All these elements of co-operation between socialist states create important prerequisites for transition to a new stage of economic integration as envisaged in the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member Countries.

The experience in building socialism and communism makes it possible to tap latent reserves, to use more fully and comprehensively the general laws, principles and advantages of the socialist social and state system. This experience makes it possible to achieve full harmony between national and international interests for the purpose of strengthening further the entire world socialist system, of consolidating its positions on the international scene.

The CPSU has invariably regarded it as its internationalist duty to contribute in every way to the continued growth of the might of the world socialist system. The Soviet Communists have always attached prime importance to the creative application of collective experience in all the fields of their activity. At the same time, they have always willingly shared their experience in socialist and communist construction, and jointly with other Marxist-Leninist parties are working actively to sum up and generalise it theoretically, contributing thereby to the continued development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Delivering the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said:

"Our stand is that the co-operation between the fraternal countries should grow ever more diverse and gain in depth, that it should involve ever broader masses of working people, and that each other's concrete experience should be more fundamentally studied at every level of state, social, economic and cultural life."¹

The Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries are searching for various forms of ties and contacts directed to promoting co-operation, exchange of experience in all the spheres of Party, state, economic and public activities. Of tremendous importance in the cause of exchanging experience are the meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries, the participation of delegations in the work of congresses of the fraternal parties, con-

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 19.

stant businesslike contacts between representatives of the ruling Communist parties, joint discussion and decisions on crucial political and economic problems. A great role is played by visits of Soviet Party leaders and statesmen to other socialist countries, visits to the Soviet Union by delegations from the fraternal countries. The visits of the CC CPSU General Secretary, L. I. Brezhnev, to many of the socialist states, his great personal contribution to the cause of promoting co-operation between the fraternal parties and countries are of immense importance for consolidating the positions of world socialism on the international scene.

The exchange of experience between Party, state and public organisations, various cultural, scientific and higher school institutions, individual towns and cities, between labour collectives of socialist countries is becoming ever more regular.

Scientific conferences, seminars, symposiums on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory are also held regularly. For example, an international scientific conference on the subject "The Growing Role of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the Revolutionary Process of Building Socialism and Communism" was held in Berlin in 1970. It was attended by representatives from 34 fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. As the participants in the conference emphasised, the experience of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries is not only important to these states but is also of great significance to the entire world communist movement and the revolutionary national liberation struggle. Over the past few years, the editorial board of the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, *World Marxist Review*, which regularly discusses their experience, has sponsored creative discussions of Marxists of socialist countries on the following subjects: "The Historical Place of Socialism, the Stages and Criteria of Its Development", "The Laws of Development of the World Socialist System", "Socialist Statehood and Democracy", and others.

All these discussions centred on the problems of leadership by the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist state, of the entire political organisation of society, the growing role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in socialist and communist construction. In the theoretical discussion on the problems of socialist statehood special attention was attached to summarising the experience of the fraternal parties in the development of socialist democracy. Opening the discussion, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Miklos Ovari, declared: "Marxism-Leninism is profoundly internationalist. Analysis of the practices of socialist construction indicates that the fraternal parties have to solve many common or similar problems. Hence the need to exchange experience and apply collective efforts to work out the topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. This is very beneficial to every fraternal country, enabling creative application of the solutions already found and the avoiding of a repetition of errors."¹ Participants in the discussion illumined from Marxist-Leninist positions the problems involved in the development of the state in the current stage of socialist and communist construction. They took a determined stand against the conception of "liberal" socialism, which denies the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, substitutes political liberalism of a bourgeois kind for socialist democracy, underrates the significance of centralised planning and management of the national economy and extols market anarchy and competition. At the same time, speakers in the discussion stressed the dangers of "Left" revisionism, which seeks to replace Marxism-Leninism with reactionary utopian and "garrison" socialism with its profession of the messianic role of some chosen countries and massive brainwashing in the spirit of hegemonism, chauvinism, bellicose anti-Sovietism.

¹ "The Problem of the Development of Socialism, International Discussions of Marxists", Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1971, p. 147.

Joint theoretical conferences, discussions and symposiums are sponsored by scientific institutions and higher schools of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. They have contributed to a more profound assimilation of the ideological heritage of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, to summing up the experience in socialist and communist construction.

All this is evidence to the effect that along with political and economic socialist integration the process of increasing internationalist union of ideological and cultural workers is going on in socialist countries.

Co-operation between socialist countries in the political, economic and ideological fields, their study of each other's experience, broad exchange of scientific and technological achievements, cultural and spiritual values, experience in developing socialist democracy help bring the peoples of socialist countries closer together and multiply their creative powers.

The CPSU contributes to this process in every possible way and is actively involved in it. The continued consolidation of the world socialist system meets the vital interests of the working class, the working people of the socialist countries, the entire international communist, working-class, and national liberation movement. In the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "We want the world socialist system to be a well-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a family, strong and united, which the people of the world would regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations."¹

The place and role of the CPSU in the efforts to achieve this great goal, just as in the entire international communist movement, have been defined in the programme documents of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism adopted

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 19.

by the international Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. These documents emphasise the historic significance of the experience of the CPSU in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in the construction of socialism and communism, its fundamental importance for the entire international communist movement. The conclusions of the international Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties have been reaffirmed in statements by the leaders of the delegations from the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, in the documents and decisions of their congresses.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which highly appreciates the recognition of the international significance of its experience, whose source has always been in the creative activity of the working class, all working people, is straining every effort to multiply it in the present stage of communist construction. It regards this as the fulfilment of its internationalist duty to the world communist movement.

SUMMARY

The experience of the CPSU in establishing and developing the Soviet socialist state proves convincingly the correctness and fundamental significance of the Marxist-Leninist conclusions that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be effected only through a socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international significance of the experience of the CPSU in state construction is attributable, above all, to the fact that this experience has been gained through the application of the general laws of socialist revolution, of building socialism, a classless communist society—laws valid for all countries and peoples taking the path of socialism and communism.

Establishing the world's first state of a new, socialist type, the CPSU worked out and tested in practice effective ways and means of state construction, leaned on the creative initiative of the working class, the multimillioned masses of working people, emulated the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

The theoretical and practical significance of the experience of the CPSU in developing the state is confirmed by the actual facts of present-day socialist realities.

In the USSR a democratic social and state system has been established, and a powerful multinational socialist state created. Diverse forms of socialist national statehood have been developed. Aided by the Soviet state which is led by the Communist Party, the working people have successfully coped with the tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism and built a developed socialist society.

In the conditions of the full and final triumph of socialism, as a result of radical economic and social transformations, the state of proletarian dictatorship has grown into an all-people's state of the working people of socialist society, and proletarian democracy has turned into an all-people's socialist democracy.

The consolidation of the Soviet state, of the entire political organisation of society, the enhancement of the role of the Communist Party as the leader and guiding force in the system of socialist democracy make it possible to use more effectively the advantages of developed socialism in the interests of competent, purposive guidance of economic and cultural development, of gradual transition to the higher phase of the communist social formation.

In handling the complicated problems of economic and cultural development of the country, the Soviet state strengthens the relations of friendship and co-operation with other socialist states, pursues the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems.

The defence of the cause of universal peace serves the interests of the peoples of the USSR, the socialist countries, the working people of the world, of all those who are waging the struggle for social justice, genuine humanism and social progress.

In the present stage of communist construction, the activities of the Soviet state, the entire political organisation of developed socialist society are directed to implementing successfully the CPSU programme of advancing the economy and culture, improving the well-being of the working people, developing socialist democracy and strengthening the unity of Soviet society, of waging a consistent struggle against imperialism and aggression, for peace, democracy and socialism.

This programme is designed for a long period and provides for the building up of the material and technical basis for communism, the advancement of socialist social relations, an all-round development of the individual, the struggle for the continued consolidation of the positions of socialism on the international scene.

The international significance of the experience of the CPSU in state construction is graphically and conclusively illustrated by its broad emulation by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. The creative application of the

experience of the CPSU in other socialist countries in compliance with their historical and national distinctions has largely contributed to enhancing the role of the state in the building of socialism in these countries.

The all-round exchange of experience between socialist states contributes to the advancement of the economy and culture in each country and to the further advancement of all the fraternal socialist countries along the path of social progress.

The implementation of socialist economic integration requires further measures to promote co-operation between socialist states. Creative use of the CPSU's experience enables the Communist and Workers' parties to take accurate account of the objective laws of socialist and communist construction in the interests of the working class, the peoples of the socialist countries, to strengthen the unity of the world socialist community. The exchange of experience in the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties in all fields, including the sphere of state construction, is a striking expression of socialist internationalism and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The experience in state construction accumulated by the CPSU and other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, its theoretical generalisation by the collective efforts of these parties are a great contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and communism and are of inestimable importance to the international communist, working-class and national liberation movement.

REQUEST TO READERS

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The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the formation and development of the Soviet State, the increased importance of the state in developed socialist society, the creative application of Soviet experience by the fraternal parties of the socialist community of nations are discussed in a number of books published in the Soviet Union in recent years. Here are some of them:

"The CPSU—Organiser of the Construction of Developed Socialism" by V. Kasyanenko.

"The State and Democracy in the Period of Building Developed Socialist Society" by a group of authors.

"The Principle of Internationalism in the Development and Activity of the CPSU" by a group of authors.

"The CPSU in the Political System of Socialist Society" by a group of authors.